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THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
**British**  
**Archaeological Association,**

ESTABLISHED 1843.

FOR THE  
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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NEW SERIES, VOL. XII.—1906.

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 **London :**  
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## PREFACE.

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THE TWELFTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION contains the Inaugural Address and Papers read at the Reading Congress in 1905, Papers read at the Evening Meetings during the Session of 1905-6, one Paper read at the Nottingham Congress, and the Paper read at the Evening Meeting of November, 1906. The thanks of the Association are due to the authors of these Papers, and particularly to Mr. Emanuel Green, F.S.A.; Mr. Andrew Oliver, A.R.I.B.A.; Mr. T. Davies Pryce, and others, for their assistance in providing illustrations; and to Mr. J. G. N. Clift, who has drawn many of the plans included in the present Volume.

During the past year the section of the JOURNAL entitled "Antiquarian Intelligence," has been divided into "Archæological Notes," dealing with recent discoveries, excavations, and other matters of interest, and "Notices of Books." The Editorial Committee desire to thank those gentlemen who have kindly supplied so much interesting matter for the Notes, and hope for the assistance of Members in making this section an important feature of the JOURNAL.

We have to note with regret that during 1906 the Association lost two of its Vice-Presidents: Sir C. H. Rouse-Boughton, Bart., who presided over the Ludlow Congress in 1867, and the Bishop of Ely, Lord Alwyne Compton, who filled the same position at Great Malvern in 1881.

The membership of the Association continues to show a steady increase, and its financial position has been materially strengthened. It is hoped that the coming year will show still further improvement in either respect, and that the President and Officers will have the co-operation of all Members in furthering the work and increasing the usefulness of the Association.

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APRIL, 1906.

**THE JOURNAL  
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BRITISH  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION**



**FOR THE  
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.**



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# THE JOURNAL

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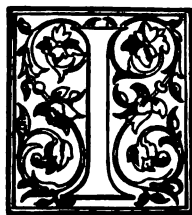
APRIL, 1906.

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### INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By C. E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A.

*(Read at the Reading Congress, July 17th, 1905.)*



**I**N undertaking to read the Inaugural Address at the sixty-second Congress of this distinguished Society, I feel that I am endeavouring to fulfil a task replete with responsibility, and not least to one like myself, who has always tried to steer clear of prejudice and unsupported theory with regard to archæology, as in other branches of practical and scientific research. Before such an assembly, I feel emphatically the necessity for accuracy in my remarks, as I know full well that as soon as I begin to dilate upon the special attractions of the district we are going to explore this week, there will be many pairs of ears pricked up, in the hope that I shall venture to assign undue importance to some of our local antiquities, or dare to pronounce as unique some object to which the proprietors of the aforesaid pairs of ears can at once adduce a whole sheaf of parallel examples. Some may even be hoping that I am about to propound a new theory as to the site of the Battle of Ashdown, or the original limits

of the prehistoric town of Reading or—worse still—to suggest, as some rash chroniclers have done, a locality other than Silchester for the great Roman city of Calleva Atrebatum. All the surroundings of those thorny and contentious areas in the archæological arena I have carefully studied ; and feel my easiest plan, to avoid the pitfalls with which they abound, will be to make only the most superficial references to them on the present occasion.

In my capacity as Chairman of the Local Committee, President of the Berkshire Archæological Society, and a Vice-President of the Newbury Field Club, I have the privilege and pleasure of extending a most cordial welcome to all those who are for the first time visiting Royal Berkshire and the important borough of Reading, the centre of the social and commercial life, not only of this county, but of a large and prosperous community, extending into the neighbouring counties of Bucks., Oxon., Surrey, and Hampshire ; and I trust they will be pleased with the attractions provided for them, and go away with the conviction that in this district, as in other favoured portions of our beautiful island, ample food can be provided to satisfy the most exacting and fastidious of our archæological appetites. Indeed, it will, I think, be a matter of surprise to many, as it is to me, that a visit to this particular locality, so conveniently situate, and with so many objects of interest within easy reach, should have been so long delayed, and that neither of our great Archæological Societies should have previously adopted Reading as the headquarters for their Annual Congress. But, as it is said, everything comes to those who wait ; and it will now only remain for those who are to a certain extent responsible for the present meeting to justify the choice which the Executive have made.

It is quite true that in 1859 this Society met under the able presidency of the late Earl of Carnarvon at Newbury, and many most interesting and valuable Papers were read on that occasion by Mr. Pettigrew, and other distinguished antiquaries who attended that Congress. Excursions were also organised to Reading, Silchester, and other places included in our present programme.

But great changes have taken place during the past forty-five years, and there are probably few left now who took part in that meeting. A great deal of information can be gleaned from the sixteenth volume of the Association's proceedings, which will materially assist those who have not visited this district before, to obtain a knowledge of the many objects of archæological interest with which it abounds, and which are the attractions that have induced the Association to assemble here to-day.

First, there is the Royal County of Berkshire, rich in examples of prehistoric, archæological, and architectural interest. Then there are the many antiquarian objects outside the county, but within a convenient distance of the centre of our operations; and, lastly, we have within the precincts of the County Borough itself much that is worthy of our attention, in spite of the drastic treatment which has been meted out to our ecclesiastical structures, both at the period of the Reformation and in more recent times.

As regards the county, it is, of course, impossible in the short space of a week to undertake more than a visit to some of the most interesting centres; and the whole of the eastern division, containing the royal castle of Windsor, the abbeys of Hurley and Bisham, the fine churches of Bray, Cookham, Sonning, Shottesbrooke, and Warfield, the ancient manor-house of Ockwells, etc., has had to be eliminated from our present programme. The name of our county furnishes the first bone of contention to those who desire to obtain the correct derivation of its etymology. Berkshire seems in early times to have been spelt with an "a," but the name is greatly varied by the early chroniclers. Asser, the historian of Alfred, derives it from the Wood of Berroc, where the box tree grows most abundantly. Others suggest the Bare Oak as the origin of the name. I may, perhaps, be skating on rather thin ice in touching upon this point, and feel it will be safer for me to leave it to an expert, like the Principal of the Reading University, to elucidate this subject.

In the north and south divisions of the county there



are many early camps and other prehistoric remains. We shall, I trust, have an opportunity of visiting the White Horse Hill, and of hearing a discussion on the spot on the curious animal there cut out in the turf, the date at which it was executed, and the object which the makers had in view in delineating it in its present situation. Here again we are immediately enveloped in the toils of controversy, but no doubt my friend Mr. Theodore White will be able to convince his hearers as to his theories on the subject. On the same day we shall visit the very interesting double cromlech called Wayland Smith's cave—or forge—travel along 'the old Ridge Way, and mount up to the ramparts of Uffington Castle, one of the largest camps in the county, which, from its great elevation, commands one of the finest panoramic views to be found in the South of England. On this day, too, we shall see the numerous *sarsen* stones, deposited, no doubt, at the close of the Glacial Period; and the visit to Ashdown Park will at once prepare us for another controversial discussion as to the site of the great battle in which King Ethelred, assisted by his brother Alfred, was enabled decisively to defeat the Danes, and expel them for the time from this part of England. An inspection of the foundation of King Canute's palace at Lambourn will also be made; and this severe day will conclude at the ancient town of Wantage, which justly prides itself on being the birthplace of King Alfred, that enlightened monarch to whose forethought, wisdom, and good government we owe so much, even at the present day.

Of the other prehistoric remains, I may enumerate the *vallum* enclosing the ancient town of Wallingford on the north, south, and west sides, the east being protected by the Thames; and, a short distance above, the Sinodun Hill and Wittenham camps, of which a good view will be obtained from the launch as we ascend the river. Wallingford may, perhaps, claim to be the most ancient town in the county, and can boast not only of a very early ford over the river, but of having erected a bridge which for some time was the next above London Bridge to span the Thames. We shall, no doubt, on our visit there, hear of the antiquity of its Corporation, and its claim to

dispute with Winchester the honour of being the first town in England to adopt this form of local government. The majestic earthworks of the Castle, the old church of St. Leonard's, with undoubted Saxon remains, and the other objects of interest in the town, and the delights of a trip on the river, should make this day memorable to those who have not previously visited the locality.

Nor must we omit to notice the ancient town of Abingdon, at one period the capital of the county, and in recent times sharing the honour of that position with Reading. Although it possesses no remains of equal antiquity with those at Wallingford, its historical record bears witness to the early importance of the borough, both parliamentary and municipal, and the influence exercised by its noble Benedictine Abbey, founded in early Saxon times, and possessing a church (of which, alas ! not one stone now remains above ground), more magnificent in its architectural details and the magnitude of its several portions than most of the cathedrals which have survived to our day. Many of the domestic buildings have, fortunately, been preserved, and will thoroughly repay the visit to be made to them. The churches of St. Helen and St. Nicholas have also been included in the programme. These, like many more in the county, are worthy of attentive study, though not claiming to be of exceptional interest.

We still have a few churches remaining in the county which contain portions of the edifices existing before the Norman period. The little church at Aston Tirrold, which is said to be the one in which King Ethelred was praying at the time the Battle of Ashdown was commencing, retains undoubted remains of the Saxon style; and at South Moreton, close by, a walled-up west doorway has recently been found under plaster of equally early date. The tower at Wickham, and portions of the tower at Cholsey, also exhibit early Saxon characteristics; as does St. Leonard's, Wallingford, already referred to.

Most of the Berkshire churches retain their ancient features, especially with regard to their Norman work. It has been impossible to arrange visits to the fine

Norman churches of Avington, Hanney, and Shellingford, the Early English edifices at Uffington and Blewbury, and the later examples at Hagbourne, Yattendon, and other places ; but it has been found practicable to include, beside the churches in the towns, those of Sutton Courtenay, Childrey, Sparsholt, Aldermaston and Padworth, which all possess features of interest, and will more than occupy the short space allotted for their inspection ; and an extra excursion, under the banner of the Berkshire Archæological Society, has been arranged to visit Aldworth, with its remarkable series of monumental effigies of members of the De la Beche family.

Of domestic buildings, which abound throughout the county, besides those in the towns, it has only been possible to include Donnington Castle, so full of associations, especially with the times of the great Civil War, the Elizabethan houses of Shaw and Upton, and the historical residence at Aldermaston. The old Norman house at Sutton Courtenay has also very properly been placed in the programme. With regard to the excursions outside the county and borough, very few places have been scheduled. The churches of Cromarsh Giffard and Goring, on the Oxfordshire side of the river Thames,—both containing good Norman, and possibly earlier work—will be visited if time permits, but the most interesting excursion is that to be undertaken to Silchester and Sherborne Priory. Many of our visitors have this afternoon had an opportunity, under the able guidance of Mr. Mill Stephenson, of seeing in the Reading Museum the excellent plan of the Roman city, and the wonderful collection of objects found during the exploration of the site. This has been carried on since 1890, under the direction of the Society of Antiquaries, and most energetically supervised by some of the greatest experts we have at the present time. Few better opportunities have been placed within our reach of obtaining a knowledge of the domestic life and habits of those who lived under the Roman rule ; for Silchester, as a great civil and residential centre, came to an end with the departure of the Romans from this country ; and with the exception of the church and Manor Farm, no buildings have since

been erected within the ancient fortified enclosure. Thus, though the city was rased, and was no doubt used as a quarry for the district for miles around, the foundations and pavements of the various building remain *in situ*, and enable us to form an accurate opinion as to the arrangement of an important town in the first four centuries of our Christian era. Calleva Atrebatum—for we may assume that Silchester represents that city—although surrounded by solid and lofty walls, was never a military station, but rather a civil centre and county town, with its Courts of Justice, public buildings, shops and private residences, and no doubt a prosperous community during the period of the Roman occupation. Many of the objects discovered bear testimony to the comparatively high state of civilisation which prevailed at the time, and the scientific manner in which the Romans guarded themselves against the rigours of an English winter is especially noticeable.

Had we continued our excursion on this day to the south, we could have visited the Vyne, the ancient residence of Lord Sandys, K.G., the Lord High Treasurer to King Henry VIII, and one who participated in no slight degree in the spoils which, on the dissolution of the monasteries, were distributed by that monarch to his special retainers. We have a striking instance of the revulsion of religious sentiment which took place at that period, in the fact that Lord Sandys actually constructed a new mansion within the walls of the nave of the Abbey Church at Mottisfont, in Hampshire, which had been granted to him at that time. A daughter of Lord Sandys was married to Sir Humfrey Forster, of Aldermaston, and his coat-of-arms appears in the series of armorial shields still preserved in Aldermaston Church.

Close by is another interesting demesne—the moated mansion of Beaurepaire, the former residence of the Brocas family, many of whose members were noted for proficiency in their warlike profession. The arms of Brocas are also to be found at Aldermaston Church, a lady of that family having married one of the Delamares of Aldermaston.

A drive of another three or four miles would have brought us to Old Basing, where recent excavations at

Basing House have added considerably to our knowledge of the memorable siege of that historic mansion during the great Civil War. It has, however, not been thought wise to go so far afield out of the county, and the only other object in this district to be visited is the Priory of Sherborne, or Pamber Church, as it is now called. This was an alien priory, attached to the Abbey of St. Vigor de Cerisy, or Cerasy, near Bayeux, in Normandy, and was founded by Hugh de Port in the twelfth century, and greatly benefited by the Achards of Aldermaston and Sparsholt. Though of but small importance, it possessed a very fine church, of which the Norman tower and Early English chancel alone remain. It was dissolved by Henry V, and its possessions were first granted by Henry VI to Eton College, and afterwards by Edward IV to the hospital of the Domus Dei, at Southampton; whence at the general dissolution of religious foundations they came to Queen's College, Oxford. There is a fine cross-legged effigy and some cross coffin-lids in the church, which will well repay careful examination.

And now, with respect to the county borough itself, with its rich historical associations, its early ecclesiastical and commercial importance, what are we to say? Are we to reckon it among the archæological "has beens;" or are we to try and picture to ourselves, from the fragments we have left, the grandeur of the town as it appeared in the Middle Ages? The early history of the town is involved in obscurity, but it is hoped that through the assiduity and perseverance of the Principal of Reading University, much fresh information may be gleaned. In the second half of the ninth century, it seems to have been the centre of the conflicts between King Alfred and the Danes, but it was not till the year 1121 that the foundation of its future importance was permanently laid. In this year King Henry I, partly as an atonement for his cruelty to his elder brother Robert, commenced the erection of the great Abbey, which he liberally endowed, amongst other things, with the hand of St. James: a relic which brought much wealth to the Monastery, and which is still preserved in private possession.

The King was buried in the church, and a magnificent tomb erected to his memory, though the church itself was not completed—and consecrated by Thomas à Becket—till many years later, viz., in 1164. From the massive character of the existing walls, and the beauty of the architectural fragments scattered about in the Forbury Gardens, the Vicarage garden, etc., we may safely assume that the church was one of the finest Norman structures in the kingdom, and that the Chapter-house and other conventual buildings were on the same imposing scale. How grievous it is to think that there were no public-spirited citizens (as in the cases of St. Albans, Tewkesbury, Malmesbury, Selby, and other places) prepared to come forward at the time of the dissolution to preserve, for the benefit of future generations of townsmen, this magnificent church: a monument of the pious munificence of our ancestors, and a conspicuous memorial of that religious sentiment which exercised so powerful an influence on all classes in the Middle Ages. Had our great commercial friends—the Palmers and the Suttons—been existing in those days, I believe that this noble church would still have remained as one of the glories of our town. How different has been the result! A few rubble walls still standing; a few sculptured stones still lying about on the site, and all else gone: the materials of the church and other buildings not only having been used for churches, houses, and roads in the district, but much having been carted away to repair the Castle at Windsor and a bridge at Wargrave, and for other similar objects so diametrically opposed to the intentions of the pious founder.

It is, however, useless to bemoan the past; and we may therefore reflect on the influence which this mitred Abbey, with its Abbot one of the Lords Spiritual, exercised on the fortunes of the town. No doubt, under the influence of the Abbots, the three churches of St. Laurence, St. Mary. and St. Giles—all of which contain some remains of Norman work—were founded or rebuilt; and it may be suggested that they were erected to compensate the inhabitants for some interference with their privileges, owing to the annexation by the Abbey

of what may have been the site of the earlier town of Reading. It was greatly due to the influence of the Abbots that from the earliest period of our parliamentary history Reading sent two members to that assembly; and in the time of Henry III a meeting was convened here, the great Chapter-house of the Abbey being probably the scene of the convention. Many important convocations, of which records have been preserved, were held in the town; but it was not till the time of Henry VI that the municipal corporation was formally constituted. Its early functions seem to have been to guard the privileges of the burgesses and townsmen from undue interference and exactions on the part of the Abbot; and the earliest charters confer upon the corporation rights of independent action, which they had not previously possessed. The dissolution of the Abbey, and the execution of Hugh Faringdon and two of the monks, in November, 1539, are matters of history, as are the important operations which took place at Reading during the great Civil War.

Besides the Abbey and the three churches already mentioned, there is not much of interest in the town. The Greyfriars Church, after having been used for the most menial purposes, and having remained roofless for many years, has now happily been restored, and presents us with a very fine specimen of Decorated work of Early fourteenth-century date.

The Castle exists only in name, its very site being unknown now, as it was four hundred years ago. A few old houses remain, but the most interesting has been recently pulled down. This, known as Walsingham House, stood at the corner of Broad Street and Minster Street; and though its external features had been much modernised, it contained some plaster ceilings of the Elizabethan period of unusual excellence. Portions of these have, through the influence of the Berkshire Archaeological Society, been preserved; and it is hoped that a space will be found for them in one of the public buildings of the town.

One more word as to the Public Museum and Library. The former, besides having many objects of general and

local interest, has been made the resting-place of the wonderful collection—which is still being added to—of Roman antiquities, the result of the systematic research which has been carried out for several years at Silchester. There is no other collection of its kind to compare with this. The Library contains a very large collection of works referring to the county, which has been carefully catalogued, and is always accessible to those desiring local information.

I must now conclude this most imperfect address, which I have drafted in the form of a sketch of our proposed proceedings, and the objects to be viewed during the ensuing week.

The fact that this is the Sixty-Second Congress of this ancient Society decided me not to attempt to go over old ground by descanting on the merits of archæological and antiquarian research. All reasonable people now admit that much practical knowledge is to be gained by the study of the works and habits of those who have lived and laboured before us; and I can only trust that the assembling together of so many enlightened students, who take a genuine interest in the history of the past, may tend to kindle greater enthusiasm in this branch of science, so that the Congress at Reading may long be remembered as one of the most pleasant and successful in the annals of the British Archæological Association.







## NOTES ON THE BRASSES OF BERKSHIRE.

By ANDREW OLIVER, A.R.I.B.A.

(Read at the Reading Congress, 1905.)



AS a Brass county, it cannot be said that Berkshire contains many examples either of great interest or of any great importance; but it is possible to draw up an account of these memorials which will give a slight history of "the Age of Brass." There are in all some two hundred examples, of which the greatest number belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The fourteenth century possesses very few, but they are valuable, as by them we are enabled to commence our subject at a comparatively early period. It will, however, be necessary to divide the subject under headings, viz. :—

1. Priests'; 2. Knights'; 3. Civilians'; 4. Ladies.'
5. Palimpsest Brasses.

### 1.—PRIESTS' BRASSES.

These may be divided into three sections, grouped according to the vestments which are worn, viz., those showing (a) the Chasuble, (b) the Cope, and (c) Academic Dress.

(a) *Priests in the Chasuble*.—This class includes a half-effigy at Wantage, c. 1360; William Herlestone, Spars-holt, 1360; a priest at Shottesbrook, c. 1375; Seys, 1350, West Hanney, and a priest at Childrey, 1480. With the exception of the Wantage example, they are all full length, and the detail of the ornament on those of the fourteenth century is similar. Shottesbrook displays the

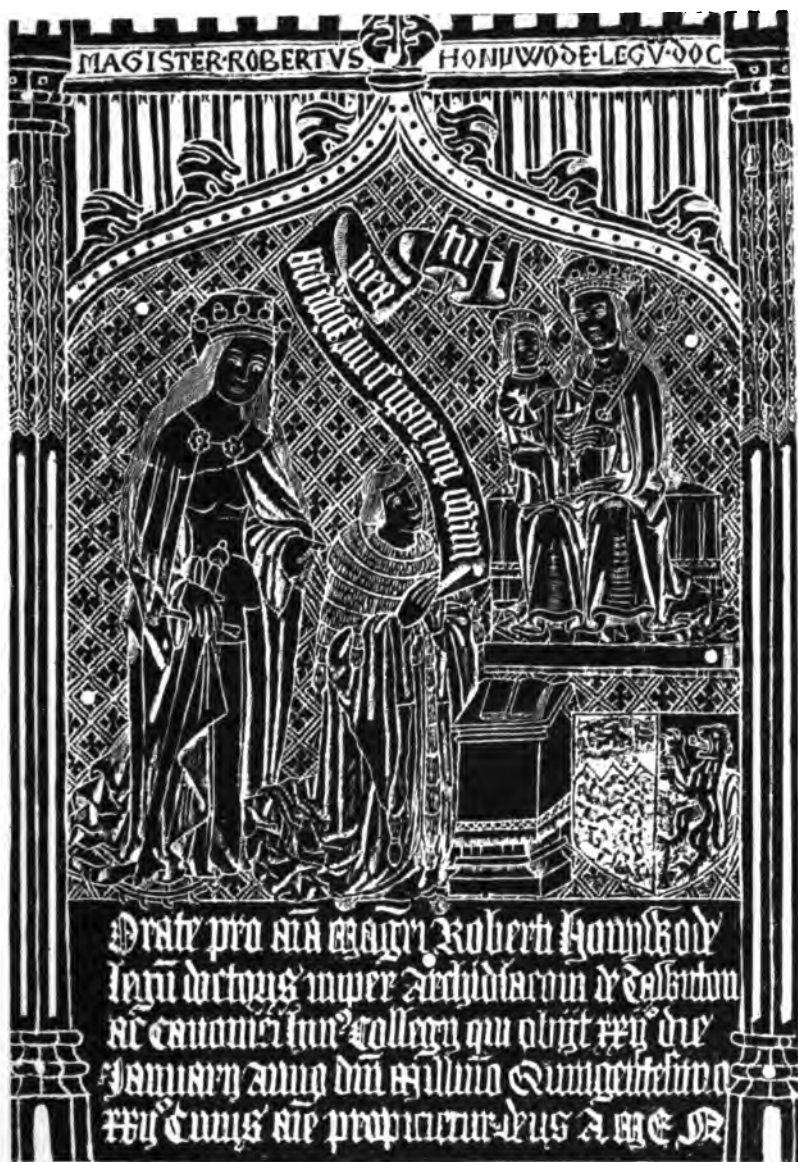


PHOTO-LITHO. SPRAGUE & CO. LTD. LONDON.

ROBERT HONYWODE: CANON OF ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

Size: 24¼ inches x 17 inches

From a Rubbing by ANDREW OLIVER, A.R.I.B.A.

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fylfot cross. The West Hanney example was originally upon a bracket, of which traces are still to be seen on the slab. William Herlestone, Sparsholt, is placed (or, rather has been) within the head of a cross, of which but two fragments remain. (A precisely similar cross is at Taplow, Bucks., in the memorial of N. Amberdene, of the same date). In the Brass at Childrey, 1480, we find a difference in the detail and workmanship. On the Brasses of a priest at the same place, 1490, at Blewbury, to John Balam, 1496, and at Cholsey to John Mere, 1471, a chalice is held in the hands, the vestments being the same as we found in the earlier example.

(b) *Priests in the Cope*.—These are not very numerous. There are two at Ashbury, and there used to be others at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The matrix of a fine example is to be seen in the cloisters.

(c) *Priests in Academical Dress*.—We find examples at Wantage, to William Gedding, 1512, Vicar of Wantage and All-Hallows, Barking, London; and a fine plate at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, to Robert Honywode, 1522.

The memorial to Robert Honywode may be considered as an unique example, so far as this county is concerned. Purely English in detail, it bears strong traces of foreign influence in the design and composition. It also shows that the artist made an alteration in the design first thought of. This may be seen on the left side, where the outline of a shield is drawn on the upper portion of the figure of St. Catherine. This, it may be noted, is of the exact size of the shield shown at the lower corner, and the space between the latter and the lower point of the shield in outline is exactly similar to that occupied by the figures of the Blessed Virgin and Child, now seen on the right side of the plate. In the upper part there is placed under the corner of a super-canopy "Magister Robertus Honywode Legû Doc." At the sides are shafts with a crocketed canopy between; on the left side the figure of St. Katherine, with the sword in the right hand, and a wheel at her feet. With the left hand she points to the figure of Honywode, who wears the Canon's hood,

and kneels at a small desk, upon which is placed a book. To the right of this is a shield. Upon a throne above the shield is placed the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child, the former with a crown surrounded by a nimbus, and bearing a sceptre in the left hand. The right hand supports the Holy Child, who shows a nimbus surrounding the head; the left hand is raised in the act of benediction. At the bottom of the plate is this inscription: "Orate pro anima Mag'ri Roberti Honywode legū doctoris nuper Archidiacon' de Tawnton ac Canonici hui' Collegii qui obiit xxv die Januarii anno d'ni mill'mo quingentesimo xxii cujus a'ie propitietur deus AMEN."

## 2.—KNIGHTS' BRASSES.

These are divided into periods, according to the style of armour worn.

(a) *The Camail Period*.—It takes this name from the camail, which is attached to the helmet. There is one memorial of this period in the Brass of Sir John Foxley, 1378, at Bray. In Mr. Waller's *Monumental Brasses* is the following account:—

"Sir John de Foxley died in November, 1378, aged 48 years, having by will, made on the 5th of that month, and proved at Southampton on the 1st of December following, directed his executors to procure two marble slabs with images and inscriptions in metal to be placed in the chapel of All Saints, in the Church of Bray—one of them to the memory of his parents, the other representing himself in his arms, the image of his defunct wife on the dexter side, in the arms of himself and those of his said wife, and on the sinister side the image of his wife then living, in his arms only. These details have been strictly carried out. The effigies are placed upon a bracket, the stem resting upon a "fox couched," in allusion to the name, the Knight in armour, his jupon charged with his arms, "*Gules, 2 bars argent*;" at his right Matilda, his first wife, in a garment bearing the arms of Foxley, impaling "*Sable, a lion rampant or*," Brocas. On the left is Joan Martin, bearing the arms of Foxley. On the slab the outline of a triple canopy can be traced, the shafts of which, together with the casement of the inscription, are the only portions left."

(b) *Period of Plate Armour*.—The Brass of Sir Ivo Fitzwarren, 1414, at Wantage, belongs to the "Plate

Period," or period of complete Plate Armour. It is a good specimen of the armour worn at that period, and it shows the difference between this and the Camail Period: the camail, or fringe of mail round the head-piece, has disappeared, and the helm is more circular in shape. The shoulders show what are termed "roundels," which cover the portion between the cuirass and the arms. From the waist is a series of plates or "taces." The sword-belt is worn across the waist, to which the sword is attached; the pommel is pear-shaped. The dagger on the other side is lost. A small portion of the tilting helm is attached to the headpiece. The feet, in pointed shoes, stand upon a lion.

About 1450, plate armour underwent a change in many respects. We find the "taces" have disappeared, and in their place "tuilles," or hanging plates; the roundels on the shoulders have become much larger and more elongated, and are different in shape; the shoes square, as we see in the Brass of Richard Gyll, Sergeant of the "Bakehouse," 1511, and a figure at Blewbury, c. 1515, and other places.

The last change to be seen is in the Brass of Sir Christopher Lytcot, 1599, and Francis Welleslone, 1602, at West Hanney, where the tuilles of the preceding period are changed into what were termed "lamboys."

Belonging to this period of Plate Armour are several examples showing a tabard, or short coat, with the arms of the knight displayed upon it. The best of these is at Childrey (1444), in the Brass to William Fynderne and his wife, which are good examples of the period. They show the figure of the husband in armour and bareheaded, with the arms of Fynderne: the hands in gauntlets; the feet, in pointed shoes, rest on a lion. The lady's Brass displays upon the dress the arms of the husband, and her own arms are upon the cloak worn over the shoulders. These are: 1st and 4th, "*argent, a bend nebuly between two cotises gules*"—Kyngeston; 2nd and 3rd, "*argent, a whirlpool gules*"—Cheley. The arms on the husband's tabard are, "*argent, three crosses patées fitchées sable—an annulet for difference.*" William Fynderne was Sheriff of Berkshire in 1432, and elected Member of Parliament

with Robert Shottesbroke in 1434. He died in 1444, as may be seen in the inscription. His wife survived him nearly twenty years, and appears to have resumed the name of Kyngeston from *Inq. P. M.*, 1463 and 1464. The date of her death is left blank in the inscription. She was the daughter of Thomas Chely, or Childrey.

Other examples, but of small size, are those of Sir John Daunce and wife, 1523, and Sir Alexander Unton and wife, 1547, at Faringdon, and John Estbury, 1485, at Lambourn.

### 3.—CIVILIANS' BRASSES.

Of the fourteenth century there are not many examples. The earliest is that of an unknown personage at Shottesbrook, 1375. The figure is dressed in a long cloak, reaching midway to the knees; an anelace hangs from a belt round the waist; the cloak is buttoned on the shoulder. The figure of John Estbury, c. 1372, at Lambourn, shows a small hood. About 1400 is the date of a second figure at Lambourn, and two half-effigies at St. Laurence, Reading.

Examples are very scarce between 1450 and 1500. There is an example at Childrey, in the small memorials to William Walrond and wife, 1480.

We then come to the sixteenth century, and we find a great sameness in the long cloaks worn, with hanging sleeves. A curious example of this period, c. 1557, is in the Brass of Thomas Noke, or Father Noke, who displays upon the shoulder of the cloak a small crown, to denote his appointment of "yoman of the croune," as stated in the inscription.

### 4.—LADIES' BRASSES.

The earliest examples are at Bray, in the Foxley memorial, 1378, described in the account of the Brass of Sir J. Foxley. It is one of the earliest examples of heraldic bearings on ladies' dresses in this country, and what was known as the "nebule" head-dress is shown; another example is at Lambourn. At Shottesbrook we find the "reticulate" head-dress worn by Margaret Pennebrygge, 1401. This was succeeded by the "horn"

head-dress, as at Childrey, in the Fynderne Brass. There are not many examples of the latter half of the fifteenth century. In the commencement of the sixteenth century caps with long lappets are worn, as at Blewbury, in the Daunce memorial, which were succeeded by the "Paris Head," or "Mary Stuart," as we see at West Hanney, Streatley, and Shottesbrook. The last-named show some slight difference in the dress worn. In the dress of the wives of Thomas Noke the difference is chiefly in the sleeve, which is plain, ending in a cuff in the two outside figures; in that on the left of Noke the sleeve is puffed at the shoulder and is more elaborate; a sash or ribbon is tied round the waist.

The examples at West Hanney, 1592 and 1602, also mark further developments. Ruffs are worn round the neck. The earlier example, the wife of John Latton, the dress hangs stiffly from the hips; in the later example, the dress is open and thrown back on the shoulders and hips; the opening displays an under-dress of an elaborately embroidered pattern.

#### 5.—PALIMPSEST BRASSES.

Palimpsest Brasses are at Burfield, Cookham, Dencheworth and St. Laurence, Reading.







## NORMAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN SICILY.

BY THE REV. HENRY CART.

(Read January 18th, 1905.)



THE principal Norman monuments are at Palermo, though throughout the island one unexpectedly comes on faint traces of the Norman occupation in the most unlikely and unlooked-for places.

And now a word as to the situation of Palermo, and what must have been its aspect in that its golden—its Augustan—age, the time during which it was in the hands of this manful race. First, its physical aspect; and I am indebted for these admirable descriptions to a most useful and necessary book—necessary, that is, for an intelligent tourist—published under the direction of Dr. Louis Olivier, and issued under the ægis of that admirable French literary organisation, the “*Revue Générale des Sciences*.” I am much beholden to this volume in the writing of this paper, though I shall not again refer to my indebtedness.

“Seen from the harbour, the town rises gently” (I am giving a very free translation), “displaying a succession of terraces, roofs, towers and cupolas, to the centre of a great natural amphitheatrical plain, whose inexhaustible fertility has given to it the justly-valued name of ‘The Golden Shell.’ The dark-hued vegetation of orchards full of orange and lemon trees fills up the centre of the shell; whilst framing the picture comes the chain of surrounding mountains, billowing away in supple and harmonious lines, here and there broken by sharp peaks and craggy points: these terminate on the one side and the other in the Monte Grifone and the Monte Pellegrino, which guard the verdure-clad plain like two mighty

pylons"—those twin watch-towers you find at the entrance to an Egyptian temple. Now go back to Norman days, and see how this ideal site was used. "Of this marvellous plain the Norman kings had made an immense park, whose gardens gave the flowers and fruit, whose woods and streams supplied game and fish in abundance. Further, the plain was beautifully besprinkled with summer pavilions, fountains of running water, and a succession of palaces which grouped themselves round the town itself as a sumptuous setting to a City of Delights. One of these, the 'Favara,' to-day an absolute ruin, "was, from its numerous reservoirs of fresh water, called in the poetic language of the time, 'the Castle of the Sweet Waters'." Then there was the Cuba, built by William II; the Zisa, the work of William I; another called Mimmerno," which has almost totally disappeared; "and last, but not least, the Royal Palace, established by the great Roger at the very gates of the town."

We will first turn our attention to the Zisa. The derivation of this peculiar-sounding name is a subject of much dispute: some affirming that it comes from the Arabic, *Kasr-el-Aziz*, which signifies Castle of the Glorious, or All-Powerful; whilst others trace it back to the Arabian words, meaning "budding flower" and "excellent." Though the origin of its name may remain thus obscure, there can be no doubt as to the thoroughly Arabo-Norman character of the building. Many have thought that it in some respects resembles the Alhambra, or other Mauresque structures; but I must contend that it has a specially distinctive character of its own. It must be noted that, as an architect, the Mahomedan is before everything a geometrician—everything is established on an exact and carefully-measured scale; and there is much expenditure of thought over equilibristic problems. He expresses the same idea in ever-varying combinations, yet always with a regularity that is astonishing if not monotonous. As a decorator, he is still, in the twelfth century, highly geometrical; the design of his mosaics and stuccos is composed of triangles, polygonal figures, stars, and the like; and the effect of

this is always heightened by a somewhat barbaric and crude colouring of gold, sky-blue, coppery-green, and very dark black. Hence we find that Mimmerno, the Zisa, and the Cuba, were originally constructed on one and the same plan—large rectangular buildings, flanked by square towers. On the ground floor a large central hall, really a sort of vestibule to the apartments, covered with a vaulted ceiling of beehive construction, and refreshed by a stream of pure water running through its midst, opened by large arcades on to immense reservoirs or fish-ponds banked in by a substantial rampart.

It seems curious to speak of a small stream of water flowing in a marble channel through a room, but it descends from a very ornate fountain; and to an Eastern people, with their various ablutionary measures—ceremonial and otherwise—it was only the proper order of things. In the case of the Zisa, this fountain is rendered still more beautiful by having above it in the wall an even now well-preserved mosaic frieze, the subject of which may well be Norman, representing as it does alternately twin pairs of archers and peacocks, though from the stiffness of the design you might argue a Byzantine source. A mutilated Arabic inscription informs the beholder that: "Whenever you wish you can gaze on the most beautiful part of the most beautiful kingdom, on the sea, and on the dominating mountain whose parks are clothed with the narcissus flower . . . . . You will see the great king—the greatest of his century—in a lovely abode, which conduces alike to magnificence and joyousness: this is the terrestrial paradise, the *Mosta'izz*, which unveils itself to your sight, and this palace is the Aziz." I cannot leave this building, with its mournful but truly romantic memories of a great past, without telling you something of the popular tradition which even now hangs about its damp-stained walls. The belief must be taken purely as a tradition of the people, but it harks back to Norman times in a charmingly dream-like manner. It is supposed that on certain nights in the year, in the midst of the deepest and most intense stillness, the Norman kings issue forth from the palace, accompanied by a numerous escort. These Northern

grandeess of the Red Shield, clothed most bravely in richest brocade and imperial purple, pass slowly along, followed by a large band of pallid-faced virgins, clad in white, with lilies in their hands, they themselves being surrounded by a cloud of spirits, so evanescent and attenuated as to appear but phantoms. The direction taken is towards the gardens: and I ought to have mentioned that the whole place was in the time of its full beauty surrounded with magnificent gardens. Just as the garden is reached, the blossoms of the orange, the lemon, and the rose-trees send forth a perfume so strong and pungent that it almost acts as a narcotic. This paralysing of the senses prevents any Sicilian "Peeping Tom" from observing the direction taken by the *cortège*; but it is said that this resurrected procession winds its way through the hidden recesses of the royal demesne in search of a vast treasure, hidden hereabouts: a treasure which consists of masses of diamonds, pearls, topazes, emeralds and sapphires.

Nothing need be said about the palace of La Cuba, which is situated at some considerable distance from the Zisa, except that, like this latter, it was at one time surrounded by splendid gardens; that it was erected by the Norman King, William II, in 1182; that it is to-day a cavalry barrack; and that the little now left of the original building is almost completely hidden from sight by surrounding modernities. There is, however, on the other side of the present road, in a large orchard, a small vaulted pavilion, called La Cubola—really the only one still standing of a series of summer-houses which adorned the gardens of the Cuba. It is said by Hare to be the most perfect Saracenic monument in Sicily, and is a picturesque object, generally missed by travellers, because it takes a little trouble to find it. It is quite unpretending: four pointed arches of ashlar work support a small cupola, and in the centre stood a fountain.

You see, we are getting very mixed already in our architecture, so far as racial characteristics are concerned: Saracen, Arab, Norman, Byzant; and we shall soon have to say something about the Greek element, though you may, of course, class that as in some measure coming

under Byzantium. Still, the whole thing is a vast conglomerate, and eludes careful analysis. I suppose there is no country where so many and so varying influences have been brought to bear successively—and, indeed, sometimes at one and the same time—on the plastic and constructive arts of its people.

Let us now, for a change, take a glance at the Cathedral of Palermo, which, despite its barbarous restorations, still remains exteriorly a glorious building, constantly appearing to shed from its golden-tinted stone the many sun's rays it has absorbed since its erection. It is on its southern side flanked by a large public garden, enclosed by a handsome stone parapet, on which are placed at intervals statues of bishops, popes, saints, etc. In the centre of the garden rises a large statue of St. Rosalia, the Patroness of Palermo, and the royal saint to whom the church is dedicated. The first building of a church on this spot took place in 592. It was then, on the advent of the Mahommedans, turned into a mosque, but afterwards restored by the great Count Roger, the famous Norman ruler, to the Christian cult; and in 1170, under William II, it was much restored and improved. Of later restorations let us not speak, or if we do, but sparingly, and with the long-drawn breath of horror. I would only ask you, in passing, whether you can imagine a building, Norman in its outlines, and much enriched with Saracenic ornamentation, being capped as to its centre with a dome manifestly of modern manufacture, and as to its nave and aisles with a row of smaller domes, something like the pepper-pot on the National Gallery! This was the work of a Neapolitan architect, who, not content with this, proceeded further, presumably with Bourbon approval, to wreck the whole interior of the building, destroying and misplacing some priceless sculpture by the celebrated Sicilian artist, Gagini. I should mention that the family of the Gagini hold a prominent position in Sicilian art from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries; but the masterpieces are usually from the hands of the most celebrated member of this highly-talented family, to wit, Antonio.

Let us always remember, in looking at these and like

buildings in Palermo, and elsewhere in Sicily, that the Normans—who were really Franco-Scandinavian adventurers—created in this southern island a unique style of architecture, one that was highly composite, in the original sense of that term. It has been described as Arabian in its ogives, Roman in its columns and capitals, Byzantine in its cupolas and mosaics, and Greek in its ornamentations. I do not pretend to say this is an absolutely correct classification, but it serves as an index-finger to untutored observation. The supreme interest of the Cathedral at Palermo, however, lies in the Tombs of the Kings, contained in two small chapels on the right of the nave. These are, happily, undisturbed, and constitute one of the most interesting groups of royal sepulchres in the world. Here are the tombs of Henry VI and Frederick II—porphyry sarcophagi under stone baldachins. Henry treacherously blinded the last male heir of the Norman dynasty. He was the cruel and hated “King of Sicily,” while Frederick may justly be denominated the genius of the Middle Ages. These tombs were opened in 1781, and at Henry’s feet was found the imperial mitre, with an Arabic inscription on its forefront, while round Frederick’s corpse were wrapped three tissues of extraordinary magnificence. Here also is the tomb of King Roger, mighty Duke and first King of Sicily. His porphyry sarcophagus—supported by kneeling Saracens—is surmounted by a baldachin, sustained by Corinthian columns adorned with mosaic. Near Roger lies the Empress Constance, his daughter, the wife of Henry VI; and two other tombs contain William, Duke of Athens, and Constantia of Arragon, the wife of Frederick II. Whilst we are surveying these solemn monuments of the dead, I cannot forbear quoting those very touching words written by the late Mr. Symonds on this last resting-place of some of earth’s mightiest: “Very sombre and stately are these porphyry resting-places of princes born in the purple, assembled here from lands so distant: from the craggy heights of Hohenstauffen, from the green orchards of Cotentin, from the dry hills of Arragon. . . . Rude hands break open the granite lids of their sepulchres, to find tresses of yellow

hair and fragments of imperial mantles, embroidered with the hawks and stags the royal hunter loved. The church in which they lie changes . . . with successive ages. But the huge stone arks remain unmoved, guarding their freight of mouldering dust beneath gloomy canopies of stone, that tempers the sunlight as it streams from the chapel windows." These words, so noteworthy, seem to me too tinged with a melancholia which perhaps sometimes affected the highly-strung temperament of the gifted writer. I did not myself notice this profound gloominess when looking at the tombs. I was impressed—vastly so—but by no means depressed. In the sacristy of the Cathedral there is preserved the crown of the Empress Coustance, and some fragments of a mantle or robe belonging to Henry VI.

I think here I ought to clear the ground a little, by pointing out what connection the Normans had with Sicily, and showing in the briefest possible compass how they came to be possessors for a time of that pearl of the tideless sea. This does not in any way belong to our subject; but so much ignorance prevails on this point that I think my stumbling endeavour as to enlightenment may, perhaps, be excusable, and in a lame way helpful.

In 1026 we find the Duke of Naples allowing some Norman wanderers to settle at Aversa, in Italy. An historian of the time says about these transplanted Norsemen (and really the words might, with slight variation, well be written about our English people of to-day):—"Arms and horses, the luxury of dress, the exercises of hawking and hunting, are the delight of the Normans; but, on pressing occasions they can endure with incredible patience the inclemency of every climate, and the toil and abstinence of a military life." At Marigny, in the Cotentin, lived in an ancient manor-house in Normandy, a worthy knight, named Tancred de Hauteville, noble, and of good report, but poor, having five sons by one wife, and six sons and three daughters by another. The eldest son was exiled to England for killing a Northman; but, on performing some deed of valour, was restored to a place at the court of Robert,

Duke of Normandy, who himself—it must not be forgotten—is the father of that Norman so well known to us, William the Bastard, generally called Conqueror. Of the other sons, William, Drogo, and Humphrey, bent on adventure, went to Italy, and presumably soon met those of their countrymen already there. These three were afterwards joined by most of the other male members of the Hauteville line, and one of the youngest—Robert Guiscard—greatly distinguished himself in a battle in which the Pope was himself taken prisoner by the Normans, now grown to a numerous body, and settled in Apulia, in Southern Italy, under the guise of a small self-governing republic. This young Northman soon climbed to place and power; and, while William the Conqueror was getting ready to wear the crown of England, Robert Guiscard was laying his plans for obtaining the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, *i.e.*, Sicily and Naples. In 1054 he was made Count of Apulia and General of the Republic. He styles himself “by the grace of God and St. Peter, Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily.” Roger, the youngest brother of all, allied himself with Robert in the conquest of Sicily, and the wrenching of the island from the hands of the Moslems—a more difficult nut to crack than was at first anticipated—and the history of the gradual subjection of the various parts of the Sicilian territory from the Emirs is too long a story for this present page, though I know of no epoch more fascinating and more worthy, especially to all island peoples, of close and careful study. No romance has ever been written of more engrossing interest than the true story of the conquest of Sicily by the Normans, those western warriors of the red shield, the conic helm, the emblazonment of innumerable lilies on a field of azure, who rush to the fray—as only sons of the salt-sea spray can do—brandishing aloft their formidable weapons, and shouting their grandly fierce old war-cry, “Dex aie” (God help us). Even in their buildings we find a note of fantastic splendour; it is as if they wanted to bring down to earth and confine there the ever-radiant luminosity of the firmament.

After this necessary dissertation we must get back to



our buildings. We must now take a look at what is indeed the gem, the jewel of great price, the costly treasure-house of all Palermo, and I think one might almost say of all Europe, and that is the Capella Palatina, the small but exquisite chapel of the Royal Palace. But on our way we give a glance at the celebrated "Sala di Ruggero," or "Sala Normanna": a lofty room, whose coved ceiling and walls are covered with mosaics representing Norman hunters, stags, leopards, griffins, and other strange and fearsome beasts. This is said to be the apartment once occupied by King Roger himself. "By getting together cubes of agate, lapis-lazuli, jasper and other rare stones, King Roger's artists produced pictorial mosaics of wonderful beauty, displaying no less ingenuity and skill in ornamenting the walls of churches and state apartments than did the workmen of the North in weaving rare fabrics for the Norman Kings of England. The colours of Queen Matilda's Bayeux Tapestries have faded until, in places, one must guess at lines and imagine designs; but the mosaics in old Roger's room are as adamantine in their composition, as fresh and dainty in their colouring, as they were when Roger first looked upon them." A writer, who is an authority, tells us that the Greeks—I daresay you know that the whole of the southern part of Italy was at one time called "Magna Græcia"—brought with them to Palermo minds stored with the best examples in which mosaic had been so freely used as an adjunct in Byzantine art. They found on their arrival schools of mosaic workers, Arabs themselves, and working on Arabian lines; but the Greeks in the end, no doubt through Royal patronage, conquered; and the patient Arab, instead of forming his everlasting geometric design, could have been seen piecing together his small cubes to form a picture, part of a large scene from the Old or New Testament. On a gold ground, which to-day remains as luminous and brilliant as when it was first prepared, these combined mosaicists—this word sounds rather like observers of the Mosaic law—have covered hundreds and hundreds of square metres with their brilliant stone patchwork. There was still left for the Arab the ornamentation of the lower part of the walls,

which he supplied with what we should call a marble dado or wainscoting, a beautiful intermixture of plaques of marble with discs of porphyry, and kaleidoscopic blends of rare pieces of stone. In the pavements, again, especially in the sacred edifices, the Arabian element comes out strongly; and instead of the purely Byzantine pattern which presents plain round discs surrounded by turns and twists, you have a more complicated and, so to speak, mathematical design, of which the chief components are triangles and polygonal figures.

We have been considering all this on the doorstep of the Royal Chapel; let us now enter, and put to the test the value of these much-vaunted mosaic decorations which are said to be found in Sicily in greater splendour than in any other country in the world. I see in a recent volume on Sicilian travel, that the writer tells her readers that Sir William Richmond declared to her that he knew of nothing which surpassed the mosaics in Sicily. Strong praise; but to all who have had the inestimable privilege of actually seeing with their bodily eyes these wonders, it will seem but just.

I cannot attempt to describe that wonderful interior: you must sit there silently and let it gradually soak into your very being. At first, coming in from the outside brightness into this very subdued light, you are only conscious of a dream-like, phantasmagorical effect of bewildering lights and shadows, and subtle gleams of colour darting through a gold-laden atmosphere; but as your eyes become accustomed to this misty darkness, you perceive that you are in a sanctuary more beautiful than the Venetian St. Marco, and more bejewelled with mosaic than the lovely little mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna. Again I revert to the words of Mr. Symonds, who in a few aptly-chosen sentences gives a very fair idea of the *coup d'œil* presented to the astonished gaze of the beholder: "The whole design and ornament of the chapel are Arabo-Byzantine. Saracenic pendentives, with Cuphic legends, incrust the richly-painted ceiling of the nave. The roofs of the apses and the walls are coated with mosaics, in which the Bible-history, from the Dove that brooded over Chaos to the Lives of St. Peter

and St. Paul, receives a grand though general presentation. Beneath the mosaics are ranged slabs of grey marble, edged and divided with delicate patterns of inserted glass, resembling drapery with richly-embroidered fringes. The floor is inlaid with circles of serpentine and porphyry, encased in white marble and surrounded with winding bands of Alexandrine work. Some of these patterns are restricted to the five tones of red, green, white, black, and pale yellow. Others add turquoise blue, and emerald, and scarlet, and gold. Not a square inch of the surface—floor, roof, walls or cupola—is free from exquisite gemmed work of precious marbles. . . . The cupola blazes with gigantic archangels, stationed in a ring beneath the supreme figure and face of Christ.”

I add a passage on the same subject—a little embroidered by myself—from a French writer, for I want you to try and look at this marvel eye-to-eye with me, so that you may be consumed by eager desire to go and be visually satiated, as indeed every thinking, or indeed unthinking, person must be : “ What strikes one is not the beauty of its lines, or its architectural disposition, so much as the almost immaterial splendour of its luminous and mystical decoration ! It blazes, it scintillates with reflections such as one sometimes finds in beautiful specimens of the Hispano-Mauresque majolica : and this from floor to ceiling. The majestic Christ in the apse dominates everything, and compels admiration. One marvels at the stupendous genius which could, by combining the delicacy of the Arabian art, the richness of the Byzantine adornment, and the purity of the Norman style, produce a whole so harmonious, so elegant, so magnificent, which makes it a treasure-house of marble, of porphyry, and of gold.”

This chapel was founded in 1132 by Roger II, and was consecrated in 1140. It is in the form of a Latin cross, divided into three naves by two rows of columns of ancient marble, each one of a different colour. The mosaics in the sanctuary are supposed to be the finest, and are said to have been done under the superintendence of a body of monks originally coming from Mount Athos.

According to tradition, the crypt was the primitive

church where St. Peter dwelt on his return from Africa. Over the altar in this crypt hangs a crucifix, formerly in the Hall of Justice of the Inquisition. If that crucifix could only once speak, what a dire tale of woe would it unfold! One can hardly bring St. Peter and the Inquisition into any actual or mental juxtaposition, though in certain quarters something like an attempt has ere now been made.

In the archives here is preserved the deed of consecration, bearing the date 1140. It is written in letters of gold on a thin plate of silver.

I think, having spoken at length of this royal chapel, we must now take a journey outside Palermo, to the neighbouring town of Monreale, and we can do so most pleasantly, either by train, by carriage, or on foot, somewhat toilsomely mounting the gradual ascent by a winding road (well designed and laid out with fountains and occasional seats by some philanthropic archbishop)—a road bordered by aloes, and skirting the famous Conca d'Oro. When we reach the town, we begin to appreciate the wonder of its situation, it being planted on a spur of the Monte Cuccio, which occupies the centre of a semicircle of mountains extending round Palermo in a clear sweep of seventy-five kilometres, as we have already seen. The view from here over the Plain of the Golden Shell is unsurpassable. In spring, from the abundance of blossom, it is as a foam-covered sea; in autumn, from the abundance of fruit, an entrancing vision of shimmering golden haze. The sea-breezes arrive at Monreale pregnant with perfume. They come like a breath heavy laden with the most fragrant incense, bearing with them a holy reminiscence of ecstatic prayer and rapturous canticle.

You will be at once struck by the sharp contrast between the woebegone misery of the houses which form the town and the splendid basilica you are now entering. This church is 102 metres long and 40 metres wide. It has three naves, divided by a double row of columns, taken from ancient temples. These are all of Oriental granite, save one, that solitary exception being of Madonian (*i.e.*, Sicilian) marble. The walls, as in the case

of the Royal Chapel, are covered with mosaic. The mosaics here are spread over a surface of 6,340 square metres. The ceiling is of inlaid wood, decorated with frescoes and gilding.

The occasion of the building of this grand sanctuary was as follows : William II, one of the Norman Sicilian monarchs, whilst hunting in this district, feeling weary, sat down by a carob tree and fell asleep. Whilst dreaming, he saw in a vision the Virgin, who pointed to a treasure hidden at the foot of the tree. This strange vision stuck in the King's mind, and he caused men to dig round the roots of the tree, when, lo ! and behold, the treasure was found. Assembling the most celebrated men of the time, he ordered a church to be built on that spot to the honour of Our Blessed Lady, who had there appeared to him.

A song is even now sung by the workpeople and *campagnards*, which I thus clumsily versify :—

“Blest be its architect and blest its royal founder,  
It cannot be described, so great is its wonder ;  
Not gold, nor silver, nor treasure can it equal.

“Make me a throne, said Mary, Heaven's Mother,  
And built was the church by many an angel brother,  
So strong was their will at glorious Monreal.”

A Sicilian proverb politely says : “ Who goes to Palermo without seeing Monreale becomes a little ass, if not a bigger animal.”

In the interior the attention is at once irresistibly drawn to the mosaic of the central apse, which depicts a very stern, judicial-looking Christ, an awe-inspiring personality, and quite different to the Christ in the Royal Chapel. In fact, one may be said to represent the loving Saviour of mankind, and the other the dread Judge of the Second Advent. This Christ-Figure is represented with His right hand raised in benediction, whilst His left supports a book, on which is written in Greek and Latin : “ I am the Light of the World ; he that followeth Me walketh not in darkness.” Under this is the Virgin with the Infant Jesus : she is sitting on a throne, and in the nimbus round her head is written, “ Senza

macchia." Here are the Norman tombs of Margaret, wife of William I, and her sons, Roger and Henry ; also of William I, and William II, surnamed the Good. In the north transept is a sarcophagus containing the entrails of St. Louis. This saintly king died of the plague at Tunis in 1270.

This cathedral is the most remarkable example of the mixture of styles which existed under the Norman kings. It is of Latin form, with a Roman colonnade, Byzantine mosaics, Greek sculpture, Saracenic and Norman details. Ferguson says :—"It is evident that the architectural features in the buildings of which the Cathedral of Monreale is the type were subordinate in the eyes of their builders to the mosaic decorations, which cover every part of the interior, and are, in fact, the glory and pride of the edifice, by which alone it is entitled to rank among the first of mediæval churches."

I am not given to praising guide-books, but Murray has an excellent little article on these mosaics, in vol. ii of his *Handbook to South Italy*. I am not going to worry you with that, but will only say briefly that these storied pictures at Monreale are all illustrative of Scripture history, and historically may be divided into three classes :—"First, those relating to the old dispensation, and which allude to the coming of the Messiah ; secondly, those illustrative of the life and miracles of Jesus Christ ; and, thirdly, those which in the Lives of the Apostles set forth the triumph of the Christian faith." The Church in its entirety may, therefore, justly be said to be a huge "*Biblia pauperum*."

There are two mosaics over the great west door which puzzled me a great deal. One can see at a glance that they do not fall in with the general Scriptural scheme ; and though, in company with others, I kept running over histories of saints—or rather, fragmentary recollections of them—I could not place these curious pictures. At last, fairly baffled, I had recourse to Murray, and I find the following explanation :—"The scene to the right depicts St. Castrense, the tutelar saint of Monreale, casting out a devil, and walking on the waves in a storm ; that to the left, a miracle of the saints Cassio and Casto, who,

when led out to martyrdom, caused a heathen temple to fall and crush the idolators." Previous to this guide-book consultation I had been trying to persuade myself that these must be St. Peter walking on the lake, and Samson pulling down the temple; but you know history repeats itself in a marvellous manner in ecclesiastical pictorial art. In the choir, over the royal and archiepiscopal thrones, there are also two mosaics that should not escape notice: the one represents King William crowned by Jesus Christ, and the other the King offering his church to the Virgin. It should be remembered, in this regard, that Sicilian monarchs boasted that Rome possessed no temporal authority over the island—I know another island of similar circumstance—hence the King derives his authority direct from God's Son.

The spandrels and soffits of the arches, and all spare spaces on the walls, are covered with angels, saints, martyrs, prophets and kings; and it is noteworthy that many of the saints thus depicted are peculiar to the Greek calendar. "The bishops without mitres . . . and without rings and gloves . . . the archangels arrayed in the *dalmatica*"—a vestment worn at coronations by the monarch himself, also by the deacon at Mass—"the storied pictures without perspective; the dry and inanimate figures; the mountains and trees represented according to the conventional manner of the Byzantines, are all so many proofs that the mosaicists of this basilica derived their art undoubtedly from the Greeks of the low empire." My own impression of Monreale was that of cold and chilly vastness, after the delicious ecclesiastical cosiness of the Royal Chapel; everything looked very gaunt, bare, and angular; but it was a grey day, and on a second visit, when the church was animated by a large congregation, the magnificence of the basilica was more apparent. I have carefully examined all the mosaics, as I have those at Ravenna and Venice, and breakneck work it is; but it well repays anyone, and the delightful quaintness with which the Bible story is retold is most entertaining, and not half so tiring as those perfectly awful plates with which in past days our family Bibles were always adorned. I must honestly say that I think the Monreale mosaics, in







LA MARTORANA, PALERMO.

point of workmanship, are vastly superior to those of the Royal Chapel; but, being spread over a much larger surface, there is not the same compact splendour and warmth of colouring.

Of the convent and archiepiscopal palace built by William II, and adjoining the Cathedral, there only remains a wall and the cloister—but what a cloister! Surely, for elegance, lightness, Oriental and voluptuous pomp, hardly to be equalled anywhere! You find here on all sides of the enclosed square, a series of double columns—there are one hundred and thirteen in all—of surprising variety, encrusted here and there with precious stones and rare marbles, these coupled columns carrying pointed arches which surround like them the cloister. The capitals of these columns represent animals, flowers, fruit; and each one, like the column itself, is different. The whole thing is conceived on the grandest lines. It is a stupendous welding together of the East and the West, the Norman and the Arab genius. As has been well said, it is “all the religion, all the poetry of their age, sculptured in stone.” At one corner there is a fountain, quite a Mauresque-looking object, the sort you would expect to find in the courtyard of any celebrated mosque. From the centre of its basin rises a column with a spherical capital, adorned with faces and grotesque heads which throw water from their mouths. From the terraced garden of the convent there is an incomparable view of the surrounding country; and to rest on the parapet wall and look around is part of the most liberal education in the great God-sent volumes of nature and art that mortal can desire.

We must hurry back to Palermo, and take a passing glance at one or two churches, and first at what is now called La Martorana, the real dedication, however, being St. Mary of the Admiral. It was so called because it was founded, in 1143, by George of Antioch, Roger II's Admiral. It is a building of about the same date as the Royal Chapel, but has been much disfigured and pulled about, notably by some Spanish nuns, who, in later times, established themselves there. The campanile remains still intact, though some consider that it originally be-

longed to an adjacent building, and some of the interior mosaics should not be passed by unnoticed. One that is specially worth observing represents King Roger, in Byzantine dress, and wearing the dalmatica, crowned by Christ: a repetition, you will observe, of what we have already seen. Another mosaic picture shows the Admiral in adoration at the feet of the Virgin, only this has been so unfortunately restored that what is left of the Admiral looks more like a tortoise with a man's head than anything else. As usual, the church is divided into three naves by pillars with gilded capitals. The lower part of the walls is—again in the usual style of the period—encrusted with porphyry and *verde antico*. Close to this is St. Cataldo, of which really only the shell—a Greek square—remains. It was built eighteen years later, also by an Admiral, Majone de Bari. It is a most picturesque object in the landscape, with its three red domes and exterior Saracenic frieze. This is the case also with St. Giovanni degli Eremiti, which, with its five small cupolas, also of a ruddy hue, looks in a palm-leaf setting backed by a red-gold sky, thoroughly Oriental. This is a very early specimen of Norman architecture, and a monastery existed here under the name of St. Erme, or St. Ermete, from early times. The church was rebuilt by King Roger some time before 1132. The lovely little cloisters are worth more than a Sabbath day's journey to see; and the old guardian, who is one of the characters of Palermo, will amuse you vastly by going through his usual pantomime, showing how, when the place was used as a mosque, the Arabs used to perform their devotions with all the ablutionary preliminaries.

Going outside Palermo again, we come on the church of the Santo Spirito, standing desolately in a large cemetery. It is interesting to us as being Norman, though now possessing a heavy, massive, darkly-forbidding interior. The material used in its construction is grey stone, and it has exterior ornamentations in black lava. This church is quite an historic landmark in Sicilian history; for here sounded, in 1282, the signal for that fierce and sanguinary outbreak known as the "Sicilian Vespers." I ought to mention that the church was



ST. GIOVANNI DEGLI EREMITI, PALERMO.



founded by an English Archbishop, Walter of the Mill. I believe I am right in saying that that keen archæologist, the Bishop of Bristol, has written a valuable article on this ecclesiastical worthy.

If we go out of Palermo in another direction, we come across the tiny church of St. Giovanni dei Leprosi, built in 1071 by Robert Guiscard, to mark the spot where his army encamped before Palermo. Nothing now remains of the original building but the external walls and the little cupola; and from the state of decay in which it now is, I should fancy it will soon disappear from the face of this earth. It gets its somewhat unpleasant name from a hospital for lepers once attached to the church. The neighbourhood that has sprung up around it exhibits such varying stages of dirt and poverty, that the name now seems to fit it perhaps better than when the hospital existed. On the way to this you pass the Norman Bridge of the Admiral, so called because built, in 1113, by the great Admiral George Antiochenus.

In Palermo itself, a church lies near the harbour which always attracts my attention, because of its singularly elegant entrance *loggia* and its quite unique situation; but it being a building of much later date, I only now allude to it because of its strange name, Sta. Maria della Caténa. There formerly stood on the spot an ancient chapel, called La Caténa, and this had its name in allusion to the chain that closed the harbour, which chain the Pisans, in alliance with Count Roger, broke in 1063.

The old Church of St. Agostino, in the heart of the town, has nothing of the original left but the rose-window in its façade, but this is singularly beautiful.

It is now necessary to make an excursion from Palermo, and go by train to Cefalu; and no more charming ride by the sea-coast can be conceived. The town stands at the foot of a cliff, upon a ledge of rocks; and at its extremity, immediately below the cliff, is the Cathedral, generally described as one of the most interesting and beautiful ecclesiastical buildings in Sicily. The trains to Cefalu run awkwardly—or, I should say, at awkward times—so that one is rather “rushed” over the whole thing, unless you like to stay there; and that, for any-

one who has had experience of a thoroughly Sicilian albergo, or its Spanish counterpart, is not always a pleasant prospect.

The occasion of the building of this church was as follows: King Roger was going from Salerno to Reggio, when a furious tempest arose. All hope was abandoned, when, just as the ship seemed to be sinking, the King made a vow that he would build a church wherever they might find a chance to touch land. On the recording of this vow the tempest suddenly abated; and in the dawn of the Festival of the Transfiguration, which happened to be the next day, they saw the Sicilian coast, subsequently landed, and sang for their delivery hymns of thanksgiving. The King then decreed the building of a sanctuary to the memory of the Saviour and the blessed Peter and Paul.

It is a Latin cross, 230 ft. in length, with a mixture of Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Norman details. The church quite dominates the poor little town, and stands with a pitiful majesty frowning down on its mean, stunted, domestic neighbours. This more especially applies to the houses surrounding the Cathedral square; for I must do the place the justice to say that many of the old houses in the lower town bear evidences of mediæval prosperity, and what is called the Norman palace of Roger is a structure of most respectable solidity. The church is, and will always appear, pathetically isolated; and especially sad to me is its interior, so vast, so empty, so bare, so ill-kept, so thoroughly cheerless. It is resorted to by beggars, street-boys, and touts or guides, who know absolutely nothing; and as these people whine, groan, whistle, laugh, scream, expectorate, etc., the lamentable effect on a mind possessed of even a shred of devout feeling can be imagined. The mosaics, which are really the glory of the church, are worth the visit. The whole apse is covered with them. Again, we have the Saviour in benediction, and below, the Madonna; whilst saints, apostles, prophets, kings, judges and warriors, cover the rest of the wall. The greater part of these belong to an earlier period than those in Monreale. Though it is supposed that they are really, in point of

execution, the finest in Sicily, if not in the world, the effect, it must be confessed is, after Palermo and Monreale, distinctly disappointing, and they are placed at such a height as to render any close inspection impossible. At the entrance to the choir are two white marble thrones, that on the right being inscribed "*Sedes Episcopalis*," that on the left, "*Sedes Regia*"—memorials of a departed greatness, a greatness which, alas! can never be expected to return. The cloister—a beautiful work—consists of plain pointed arches, resting, like Monreale, on coupled columns covered with elaborate patterns and with ever-varied capitals.

Time forbids me to speak of other parts of the island, where one may find Norman remains or reminiscences of their art: as at Taormina, the paradise of Sicily, where the little oddly-placed Cathedral retains its Norman tower intact; or Syracuse, teeming with its wealth of classic association, and offering land and sea views of fairy loveliness, prominent in its vast harbour being the Castle of Ortygia, the massive walls alone left to mark the spot where Maniacè, sent by the Emperor of the East with an army composed of Greeks, Lombards, and Normans, eventually retreated; or Messina, whose cathedral was constructed in certain parts in the purest Norman-Gothic by Count Roger, and where the famous letter addressed by the Virgin to the people of Messina was destroyed in a conflagration which broke out during the obsequies of Conrad IV, the son of Frederick II, of whom we have already heard. And to come near Etna, that magical name, that mistress of mountains sitting supreme, and giving such glory and such destruction to the land—glory, such as one can revel in when one sees her clothed in her glittering white mantle, all sparkling with a million diamonds under the cold moon ray, or when you gaze on her rosy blush as the sun amorously woos her in the dawning; destruction, such as one can measure when you pass through whole tracts of country, covered, like battlefields, not with slain, but with huge crags, pinnacles, petrified streams, Titanic masses of what was once boiling lava—even around this fair monster the Norman has left his footprint, and at Aderno there is a



fine Norman castle, now used as a prison. Again, at Troina, a most desolate and unfrequented spot, there is a belfry and part of the wall of a cathedral built by Roger I in 1078. At this place, now so dreary and unknown, Roger and his wife at one time held their court, and here they withstood a four months' siege from the Saracens. And so fair Sicily, as it bears the marks—the indelible marks—of a successive series of conquerors, finds herself through the Normans allied to her island brothers in far-off Britain; and though our colourless surroundings do not match their glowing environment, yet at bottom the nobility of character which might, should be, and occasionally is, the hall-mark of fraternizing nations, peeps out again and again in our intercourse with that glorious world, the land of Italy!

There can be no question that, as I have already stated, the Norman was indeed the Golden Age of Sicily. The mediæval architecture of Sicily (especially at Palermo) shows the change from Byzantine to Arabian domination, and from the latter to Norman supremacy. Even in Norman times the leading element is to some extent Arabian, but this Eastern strain of art the conquerors themselves fostered. Indeed, most of their palaces are distinctly Arabian, reflecting the Oriental complexion of the Court: a complexion which was especially marked in the reign of the Swabian Frederick. He appears to have maintained veritable seraglios, with their proper accompaniment of concubines, almées, and odalisques, not only in Sicily, but in his other kingdom in Southern Italy. The Popes severely reproached him for his companies of eunuchs and courtesans. That historic arch-hypocrite, Charles of Anjou, was filled with well-feigned horror at sight of this "Sultan of Lucera." Though all this may represent to us the lighter side of Frederick's character, it must not detract from the fact of his literary and artistic greatness, which made him a worthy successor of the Norman kings, whose dynasty really came to an end when this great monarch passed away. He must always be considered as the one who continued with admirable effect that eclectic, liberal, and fair civilization introduced by the Northern warriors, which threw under

this emperor a last ray of sunlight on the land of Sicily : that beautiful land of contradictions, where, in the charming words of Marion Crawford, "you can visit no village nor hamlet without seeing a score of handsome Norman children, with bright blue eyes and yellow hair, playing Eastern games under the Sicilian sun, and chattering an Italian dialect that is motley with Norman and Arabic and Spanish words. It is not the language of the often-conquered, upon which many successive languages have been imposed, but rather the mixed speech of many-conquering races, in a country where each has ruled in turn, and where it is hard to say which has left the deeper mark."






## READING ABBEY.

By JAMIESON B. HURRY, M.A., M.D.

(Author of "Reading Abbey.")

“OBILE illud et Regale Monasterium de Redynge,” as it is called in the Annals of the sister-house at Bermondsey, has played an important rôle on the stage of national history, and has greatly influenced the development of the ancient Borough whose name it bears.

So extensive, however, has been the destruction of the fabric—thanks to sacrilegious plunder, to the siege works of the Civil War, and to its facile use as a quarry for road-metal—that only scant remains recall Henry Beauclerc’s splendid foundation and its black-robed brethren, whom William of Malmesbury describes as “a noble pattern of holiness and an example of unwearied and delightful hospitality.”

Of singular interest is the fact that this Abbey was built under the supervision of seven brethren from Cluny, who, led by Peter, their prior, were sent over to England at the request of Henry I, and “*Cluniacensis ordinis observantiam inchoaverunt*” introduced the observances of the Cluniac Order. And yet the essential feature of the Cluniac system, viz., the subjection of the various religious foundations to one great central mother Abbey at Cluny, was never introduced at Reading, nor was this Abbey included at the triennial visitations of Cluniac houses. Possibly the King considered his foundation to be too important to be subordinate to any other house, however noteworthy. Another peculiarity is the fact that this monastery alone among English Cluniac houses,



PROCESSION OF ABBOTS TO PARLIAMENT.

Temp. Henry VIII.



was dignified with the title of Abbey from its very foundation. In the fourteenth century, Reading appears to have lost its Cluniac character, and it is subsequently classed amongst ordinary Benedictine houses.

In the history of music no small importance is assigned to the rondel, "Sumer is icumen in." This "amazing production," if not composed, was at any rate first written down at Reading Abbey about the year 1225.

In mediæval times, much of the fame of a religious house depended on the presence of reputed relics of apostles, saints or martyrs, which attracted pilgrims from far and near, and added to the revenue of the monastery that was fortunate enough to possess such talismans. At Reading, amongst numerous relics, the reputed "hand of St. James" was held in the highest esteem, and, according to Hoveden, even led to the founding of the Abbey: "*Rex vero Anglorum Henricus præ gaudio manus beati Jacobi Apostoli fundavit nobilem Abbatiam de Redinges, et eam multis donis ditavit, et in eam manum posuit beati Apostoli.*" Certain it is that this hand, preserved in a shrine of gold, led many pilgrimages to the Abbey, special indulgences being granted to pilgrims who visited the relic on the festival of St. James (viz., viii Kal. Aug.), or within the octave of the same. The shield-of-arms of the Abbey—*azure*, three escallops *or*—is to be associated with the same relic, the escallop shell being the emblem worn by pilgrims to the said Apostle's tomb at Compostella.

One of the most famous monastic dramas of the sixteenth century was enacted at Reading in 1539, when Hugh Faringdon, the thirty-first and last Abbot, refused to surrender the Abbey to King Henry VIII, and paid the penalty on the scaffold. For many years he had been on terms of intimacy with his sovereign, who dubbed him "his own Abbot," and was in the habit of exchanging New Year's gifts with him. Great, therefore, must have been the temptation to any Abbot of less strength of character to swim with the stream, as did many heads of houses similarly circumstanced. But loyalty to the Pope prevailed over personal friendships and political

expediency; and literally did he carry out the old injunction :

*τόλμα ἀεὶ, καὶν τι τρηχὺ νέμωσι θεοί,*

laying down his life for conscience sake.

The execution of the Abbot was followed by the immediate dissolution of the house over which he ruled. For over four centuries Reading Abbey had been the home of scholarship, of religion, of active benevolence. "Ever at the gates sat Mercy, pouring out relief from a never-failing store to the poor and the suffering; ever within the sacred aisles the voices of holy men were pealing heavenwards in intercession for the sins of mankind." Doubtless, at times, there were abuses such as have stained the memory of many a religious house. But, speaking generally, history records little that is discreditable to the fair fame of one of the greatest and wealthiest of English monasteries.





## VILLA FAUSTINI.

(ANTONINE *ITINERARY*, V AND IX.)

By C. H. COMPTON, Esq., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(Read March 15th, 1905.)



**I**N *The Standard* of September 10th, 1904, appeared a letter from Mr. George Barham, of Bury St. Edmunds, drawing attention to Roman remains which he had found some three weeks previously at Sicklesmere, about 2 miles from Bury St. Edmunds, and half a mile from Great Welnetham; and the question is raised whether this has not localised the position of the Villa Faustini mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. "The antiquarians," he says, "who supported the claims of Bury decided that it was the burying station of the Villa Faustini. This, I consider, is highly improbable; and I am of opinion that the Villa Faustini stood, not at Bury, but 2 miles away, at Sicklesmere."

In support of this opinion, Mr. Barham says that, some time ago, while engaged in geological work in a gravel-pit at that place, he came across two artificial pits, evidently midden-pits of a dwelling. At the bottom were found fragments of pure Samian ware, and towards the surface pieces of Romano-British pottery of different ages. Further investigations were made, and the following conclusions were formed:—

"First, they were not the pits of a Roman camp, as animal bones were found in comparatively small numbers.

"Secondly, they were the pits of two distinct dwellings, as was shown by the fact that the two pits were evi-



dently co-existent, and represented the accumulation of a considerable period.

“Thirdly, both dwellings were occupied—originally, at least—by Roman officials of sufficient wealth and standing to have oysters frequently sent from Colchester—in those days a costly matter.”

Shortly after, three other pits of a similar nature were found, and a quantity of building tile and other materials gave indications that a very extensive settlement existed there. Several bronze coins of Faustina II, and silver coins of Severus Alexander, were also found.

Mr. Barham’s announcement was replied to by the Rev. Dr. Raven, Vicar of Fressingfield, Suffolk, who controverted his conclusions on the ground that the measures of distance in Routes V and IX of the *Antonine Itinerary* precluded the location of the Villa Faustini at the spot indicated.

This villa is mentioned in the *Itinerary* only in these two places, and its locality has been a subject of much controversy. Before entering on an investigation of the different views which have been expressed, it would be interesting to ascertain who its owner was, but there is little to assist the enquirer beyond mere conjecture. Martial had a friend of the name of Faustinus, to whom he addressed several epigrams; and in Lib. III, Ep. LVIII, he gives a description of the Villa of Faustinus at Baiæ, which makes the owner appear a wealthy Roman, who was fond of country life. Another Faustinus was Consul in A.D. 210, the year in which Septimius Severus died at York, and his name occurs in a rock-inscription on Combe Crag, in Cumberland (*Lapid.*, Sept., 410). The inscription does not imply that he was in Britain; but as he lived at a time when there was much activity in the island, he is, perhaps, a more likely candidate than Martial’s friend. The only other Faustinus I have met with was the nephew of Juventius, the Prætorian Prefect who attained the rank of Military Secretary under Valentinian in A.D. 374<sup>1</sup>, and he certainly comes at too late a date.

The Villa Faustini is the third station in the fifth

<sup>1</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 30, c. 5.

*Iter.* of Antoninus, “ a Londinio Luguvallio ad Vallum,” the first five stations of which are as follows ;—

Cæsaromago	.	.	.	M.P. XXVIII.
Colonia	.	.	.	M.P. XXIII.
Villa Faustini	.	.	.	M.P. XXXV.
Iciani	.	.	.	M.P. XVIII.
Camborico	.	.	.	M.P. XXXV.

The Rev. Thomas Reynolds, in his *Commentary on the Itinerary*, published in 1799, identifies these places with the present English localities of Widford, Colchester, Woolpit, Thetford, and Cambridge, and accepts the English mileage as identical with the Roman. The distances to Cæsaromagus (Widford), 28 miles, and thence to Colonia (Colchester) 24 miles, sufficiently—so far as measurement goes—identify Colonia with Colchester ; and, for the purposes of the present enquiry, this forms the base from which to proceed on the discovery of the Villa Faustini, 35 miles distant, and 17 miles from the next station, Iciani.

Reynolds places the site of the Villa at the village of Wulpit, or Woolpit, 6 miles north-west of Stowmarket, and 1 mile south-west of Elmswell railway station. It is situate on the road from Ipswich to Bury St. Edmunds, and was formerly a market town under the Abbot of Bury, to whom the manor belonged. Roman coins have been found in the neighbourhood. He comes to this conclusion after comparing Camden’s opinion in favour of St. Edmunds Bury, which is followed by Gale in his essay on the *Itinerary*. Gale supposes that Wulpit must have been the Sitomagus of the ninth *Iter*, which Reynolds puts at Stowmarket. “ This (fifth) *Iter*,” says the latter, “ appears to have continued along the great road to Yarmouth till it has passed the Orwell near Ipswich, where a branch has turned off by Stowmarket to Wulpit and Thetford.” This distance wants about half a mile of 35 miles, according to Ogilvy, who makes it 17 miles and a part of a mile from Colchester, to the junction of these roads near Ipswich, and 17 miles and another part of a mile from that point to Wulpit ; but Paterson lays down 18 miles from Colchester to Ipswich, and  $17\frac{1}{4}$  miles from thence to Wulpit—in all,  $35\frac{1}{4}$  miles.

Dr. Raven, in his reply to Mr. Barham, referred to his own History of Suffolk, in which he identifies the Villa Faustini with Stoke Ash, a parish in Suffolk,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west of Ash, and situate on the road from London to Norwich by way of Ipswich, tracing the distances to Stoke Ash thus :—"Ad Ansam in *Iter* IX, seven miles from Colchester; thence to Copdock  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles. At this point we break from the Ipswich road, keeping on the west of the river. I do not feel sure till we are on the Ipswich and Scole road, some 10 English miles from Stoke Ash. The  $23\frac{1}{2}$  miles accounted for will leave  $9\frac{1}{2}$  between Copdock and the point 10 miles from Stoke Ash, to make up 33 English miles from between that place and Colchester: 33 English miles = 174,240 English feet; and this number, when divided by 4854, the estimated number of English feet in a Roman mile, gives 35 m. 7 f., which is near enough to the 35 miles in the fifth *Iter*." He then, on the authority of a friend and correspondent, says, "the finest description of pottery is found here, just below the 'White Horse' Inn on the same side. The opposite side was devoted to burial purposes. . . . The position had attracted attention early in the century, when Lapie—probably from measurements only—placed Villa Faustini close by Stoke Ash. Coins have been found: one bears the head of Crispus, eldest son of Constantine the Great."

This statement by Dr. Raven compares favourably with the Ordnance Survey, if we assume that he is right in identifying Ad Ansam with Stratford St. Mary: the distance by measurement on the Ordnance Map between Colchester and Stratford is 6 m. 4 f., thence to Copdock 6 m. 7 f., and the map shows the road from Copdock to Stowmarket, on the west of the river, till it reaches Branford, where it crosses and joins the Ipswich and Norwich road, as far as Claydon; there it branches from the Norwich road and joins the Stowmarket road again. The distance from Copdock to Claydon is 5 m. 4 f., and from Claydon to Stoke 13 miles, making a total of 32 m. 3 f. from Colchester to Stoke, or 35 Roman miles and two-eighths of a mile.

Another recent writer, Mr. T. Codrington, F.G.S., in his book on the *Roman Roads in Britain*, though he does not seek to identify the Villa in his description of Peddars Way, traces the indications of a Roman road from the direction of Colchester towards Woolpit, which appear on the north of Hitcham, and of a supposed road from Stratford St. Mary by Hadleigh to Woolpit.

“On the north of Hitcham, about 16 miles from Colchester, the present road turns towards Stowmarket, and Hitcham Street continues on ; and then a lane, pointing due north, is followed for three-quarters of a mile to Pay Street Green. At Clopton Green, a mile and a quarter further north, a lane takes up the same line for a mile, to within a mile of Woolpit, which has been supposed to be the site of a Roman station.”

A careful investigation of these alternative routes disposes of Mr. Barham's suggestion that he has located the site of the Villa Faustini ; the distance between Colchester and Bury St. Edmunds being by the Ordnance Survey 42 m. 2 f., or about 8 English miles beyond the required 35 Roman. This brings us to Woolpit, which is claimed by Reynolds as the site of the Villa ; but, on comparing the distances he gives between Colchester and the junction of the two roads near Ipswich, and from that point to Woolpit, with the Ordnance Map, Claydon is the place where the road to Stowmarket branches off, and the distance there given from Colchester is 20 miles, and from thence to Woolpit 14 m. 2 f., three miles and a fraction short of Ogilvy ; the full distance being 34 m. 2 f., thus agreeing within a fraction with Ogilvy's survey.

On tracing these two roads indicated by Mr. Codrington on the Ordnance Map, we find that the road he describes as from the direction of Colchester towards Woolpit follows the road already indicated as far as Stratford St. Mary, and then proceeds in a northerly direction towards Hadleigh, and thence onward through Bildeston to Hitcham, leaving Stowmarket to the north-east, and continuing by Pay Street Green and Clopton Green to within a mile of Woolpit.

The Ordnance Map, however, shows a nearer way to

Woolpit—by Woolpit Heath—than by going through Pay Street Green and Clopton Green; the distance from Great Finborough, where the main road proceeds to Stowmarket in an easterly direction, through by-roads to Woolpit Heath, being 4 miles, whilst that through Pay Street Green and Clopton Green is 5 miles; both come within a mile of Woolpit, thus making the distance from Colchester through Woolpit Heath 29 m. 2 f., and through Pay Street Green 30 m. 2 f., or in Roman miles  $31\frac{1}{2}$  and  $32\frac{1}{2}$  respectively.

We thus have two alternative routes to determine the site of the Villa Faustini at a distance of 35 Roman miles from Colchester, as given in the fifth *Iter*. It remains to trace the site of the next station—Iciani—17 miles from the Villa Faustini, *i.e.*, from Woolpit, according to Mr. Reynolds, and from Stoke Ash according to Dr. Raven. Reynolds refers to Talbot's opinion that Iciani was the *Sitomagus* of the ninth *Iter*; but the latter was by no means decided in his opinion. "He thought that town must have been in Norfolk, being the country of the Iceni, and most probably Thetford. Its name 'Iciani' may seem to imply that it was the capital of the Iceni"; but all that Reynolds says to guide us as to distance is that "the direct distance between Wulpit and Thetford cannot exceed 16 miles; but as Wulpit lies near 2 miles from the road between Stowmarket and Thetford, the two miles might be added by a return to near Wetherden in that road. Wetherden is 17 miles from Thetford, and nearly 2 miles from Wulpit." As far as the direct road from Wulpit to Thetford is shown on the Ordnance Map, the distance seems to be  $14\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and from Wetherden to Thetford 16 miles. It is noticeable that the fifth *Iter* gives the distance between the Villa Faustini and Iciani as 18 miles; and if the road between Thetford and Wetherden be taken through Ixworth, the distance by the Ordnance Map is 17.2 miles.

The next station to Iciani is *Camboricum* (Cambridge, or more probably Grantchester), 35 miles distant. The direct road from Thetford to Cambridge, through Newmarket, is 33 m. 2 f., according to Carey's *Itinerary*, and

this agrees with the measurement. Dr. Raven suggests that Ixworth is Iciani, and says that there are two or three possible routes from Stoke Ash to Ixworth, within a little of the recorded 18 miles between Villa Faustini and Iciani; that many Roman remains have been found at Ixworth; and that the road thence to Camboricum (Grantchester) is, he believes, the old coach road to Bury, which he traces through Newmarket and West Wickham. A reference to the Ordnance Map shows the distance to be 33 m. 5 f. English, and  $35\frac{1}{4}$  Roman miles.

The distance between Stoke Ash and Ixworth varies according to the road taken. By the Ordnance Map, that through Walsham and Finningham is 13 m. 2 f., while by the Lowestoft road through Stanton the distance is 17 m. 3 f., or in Roman miles about  $18\frac{1}{4}$ .

One of the chief difficulties in locating the site which we are seeking, as pointed out by Mr. Codrington, arises "from the fact that beyond Colchester the course of *Iter V* as far as Lincoln is obscure, there being no station on it fixed with any certainty, and the distances in the *Itinerary* between Colonia and Lindum amount to 204 miles, while a direct route by Cambridge and Godmanchester would not exceed 140. The total distance prefixed to the *Iter* agrees with the sum of the intermediate distances, and the obscurity between Colchester and Lincoln must be attributed to ignorance of the course of the *Iter* between those places."

The Rev. A. C. Yorke, Rector of Fowlemere, Cambridgeshire, in a letter to *The Standard*, controverted Mr. Barham's views, and raised a discussion as to the identity of Camolodunum of the ninth *Iter* with Colonia of the fifth, each place being given as 52 miles from London; but on this question I shall not enter, as I have already taken Colchester to be Colonia. I must also reject his adoption of Hitchin, in Hertfordshire, as the station Iciani, merely on etymological grounds, and in the absence of any measurements. As is said by Mr. Thomas Wright in *The Celt, The Roman, and the Saxon*, we gain not much in knowing the exact measure of the Roman mile, because we cannot place trust in the numbers given

in the *Itineraries*. The Roman numerals were easily altered by careless copyists, . . . and the only safe method of applying them to the actual sites is, first to find the traces of the stations, and then compare them with the *Itinerary*."

It is to this method that I have applied myself in attempting to discover the site of the Villa Faustini, and in so doing have taken the Ordnance Map on the scale of one inch to the mile, reducing the English mileage to the Roman, on the calculation of 1760 yards in the former to 1618 in the latter ; and though I have not succeeded in locating the Villa, or in identifying Faustinus himself, I trust that the materials I have worked out may prove useful in determining the points at issue in the event of further discoveries.





## THE HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD.

BY THE REV. J. E. FIELD.

*(Read at the Reading Congress, 1905.)*



THE historic interest of Wallingford is well known to be far greater than its existing relics of the past would indicate. A strong conviction that this place is Calleva of the Atrebatas prevails here; others usually regard its Saxon name as the oldest that is known. It is, no doubt, the Ford of the Wallingas, the sons of the Walla or the Welshman; and we infer that a very important highway of the Britons crossed the Thames here. The Romans certainly occupied the place, and the streets show the Roman plan; but it can hardly have been an important station, for its Roman relics are few. Strong arguments are alleged for the belief that the invaders under Aulus Plautius landed in the west, and came up the Severn and down the Thames; that they gained their great victory over Caratacus near Dorchester; that their camp for the protection of the Dobuni was planted on Sinodun Hill, across the river; that the Catuellauni fled down the river on this side, and crossed at Wallingford to return homeward by the Chiltern Hills, but were cut off by an unlooked-for attack on the Crowmarsh side of the river. In that case, a garrison must have been stationed at this ford at the very beginning of the Roman occupation.

At the middle of the sixth century the West Saxons had secured the whole district south of the Thames, and in 571 they advanced northwards, and a victory at Bedford brought the district west of the Chilterns into their power. Historians commonly assume that



they crossed the river at Wallingford. This district figures prominently in the conversion of England to Christianity; for St. Berin—or Birinus—came in 635 to Dorchester, and there christened Cynegils, the West-Saxon King, and the head of that house from which the royal family of England is descended. For more than a century the border line of Wessex and Mercia was fluctuating, from 661, when Wulfhere, the son of Penda, raided the country as far as the Berkshire Downs, then called Ashdown, until 777, when Offa defeated Cynewulf at Bensington, and finally brought the Mercian boundary to these downs, as it continued for fifty years. In 871 came the first incursion of the Danes into the centre of the land, and the first appearance of Alfred in our history. He, with King Ethelred, defeated them at Ashdown, and most modern historians place the scene of the battle on the hill above Cholsey.

The name of Wallingford first appears on coins of Athelstan, and the royal mint continued here till Henry III's reign. But the town is first named in history in 1006, at the time of Sweyn's invasion, when, as some eleventh-century editions of the Chronicle tell us, the Danes went to Wealingaford and burnt it all. The Domesday Survey relates that fourteen acres here belonged to King Edward the Confessor, and were occupied by a company of his huscarles. These were apparently under the command of the Saxon thegn, Wigod, the King's cousin. He supported the claims of William the Norman to the throne; and when, after the Battle of Hastings, the Conqueror marched towards London and found that he would be opposed at Southwark, he turned aside to Wallingford. Here he received Archbishop Stigand and the other nobles who came to do homage, and Wallingford comes to the forefront of our history.

Wigod's heiress married Robert D'Oyley, a Norman chieftain, and the new King ordered him to build a strong castle, which was completed in 1071. D'Oyley's daughter married Milo Crispin, one of the richest land-owners of Domesday, and afterwards Brien Fitzcount, who defended the castle for the Empress Maud. Well-

known facts are the Empress's arrival here from Abingdon, after her escape thither along the frozen river from Oxford Castle; the treaty of Wallingford, by which the Crown was secured to Stephen for his life, and Henry Plantagenet, the Empress's son, was to succeed him, thus ending the civil war; Henry's first parliament held here in 1155, when he granted the town its charter; Prince John's seizure of the castle, one of his first acts of treachery when his brother, King Richard, was in the Holy Land; the magnificent state maintained here by Richard, King of the Romans, the brother of Henry III, who built the great hall of the castle, and also the oldest parts that remain of Wallingford Bridge; then the Barons' Wars, when Simon de Montfort seized the castle during the absence of the King of the Romans in Germany; the imprisonment here of the two kings and the royal princes after the defeat of their party at Lewes in 1264, and Prince Edward's escape on the way to Kenilworth; followed by the victory over the barons at Evesham; then the tenure of Richard's son, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, who probably refounded the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas (founded originally by Crispin), of which the ruins survive; the marriage of Earl Edmund's widow with Piers de Gaveston, and the prominent part which the castle bore in the miseries of Edward II's reign; then happier scenes, when it was the favourite home of Edward the Black Prince and of his widow, Joan of Kent; then the change which made it merely a military fortress, though still sometimes occupied by royalty, as when Isabella de Valois, affianced to Richard II, was protected here during Bolingbroke's invasion, and when the baby King Henry VI spent much of his childhood here; then Katherine, the Queen-mother, secretly married, it is said, in a dungeon here to the imprisoned Owen Tudor, and Margaret of Anjou, a captive here in custody of the Duchess of Suffolk; then the defence of the castle for King Charles through a nine weeks' siege, until every fortress had yielded except the remote Raglan and Pendennis; then the surrender to Fairfax on July 27th, 1646, the garrison being permitted to march out with flying colours; lastly, the

demolition of the buildings by order of the Parliament in 1652, nothing being left but two fragments of the outer walls. So Wallingford stood prominent in English history for 600 years.

An object of special interest is a beautiful ivory seal, found near the market-place, and now in the British Museum, bearing Earl Godwin's name and effigy, and on the reverse those of Godgytha the Nun, who holds a book and raises her hand as if in exhortation. Since the Earl was father-in-law of Edward the Confessor, who had large possessions here, and Gytha his widow devoted herself to religious work, it seems probable that she presided over a nunnery here.

The churches—parochial and other—numbered fifteen at the close of the thirteenth century, and all the sites are known. St. Mary the More, in the market-place, probably represents the Romano-British church. St. Leonard's is thought to be of the tenth century, and a fine example. St. Martin's—probably Saxon—stood near the central crossing. The church mentioned in Domesday as belonging to the Bishop's manor of Sunning is not identified. Robert D'Oyley founded the Benedictine Priory of Holy Trinity, a cell of St. Albans, and probably built St. Peter's Church on a tumulus beside the ford, the third of the existing churches, which was rebuilt in 1769, and probably also the chapel of St. Peter at the west gate, and All Hallows by the barbican of the castle. That of St. Rumbold, the local saint of Buckingham, at the south gate, may have been founded by Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham. There were three other parish churches,<sup>1</sup> besides the chapel of St. Lucian, outside the south gate, and the bridge-chapel called the Mary Grace. The Black Death of 1349 wrought great havoc here, and early in the fifteenth century the high road from the west was diverted through Abingdon. Then seven of the churches disappear. After the Priory was dissolved, the Collegiate Church and the Hospital of St. John Baptist followed. The bridge-chapel and All Hallows were destroyed during the siege in 1643.

<sup>1</sup> St. Mary-the-less, St. John-super-aquam, and St. Michael.

The bridge of twenty arches is interesting, four being fine original work of about 1260 : several rebuilt with Norman work from the Priory in 1530 ; three rebuilt in 1750, where drawbridges had been substituted during the siege ; and three rebuilt in 1809, when the bridge was widened.

Celebrated men belonging to the town were John of Wallingford, the Chronicler, and Richard of Wallingford, the mathematician, both Abbots of St. Albans ; Sir Richard Knollys, Constable of the Castle, created Viscount Wallingford by James I and Earl of Banbury by Charles I ; and Sir William Blackstone, the legal commentator.

Wallingford was made a royal borough by Edward the Confessor. Its mayoralty began in 1155, thirty-four years before that of London ; and the question of which is the oldest of our boroughs is disputed between Wallingford and Winchester.





## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF UFTON COURT.

By MISS SHARP.



THE Manor of Ufton belonged from about A.D. 1411 till it was sold in 1802 to a family of the name of Parkyns or Perkins, but the building now known as Ufton Court was not the original Manor-house. That stood on a moated site about a quarter of a mile distant, and nearer to the Parish Church. No trace of it now remains above ground ; but, by the landlord's permission, excavations were made on the spot some years ago, and some foundations of a house were found ; also of the gate-head of the bridge across the moat.

The house we are now considering belonged originally to a separate manor, known as "Pole Manor." It had formed part of the property of the last Lord Lovell, of Minster Lovell, in Oxfordshire, whose estates were confiscated by Henry VII, in consequence of the part he took in the rebellion of the Pretender, Lambert Simnel. He had been a favourite of Richard III, and is remembered in history by the distich—

"The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog,  
Rule all England under the Hog ;"

the Cat and the Rat being Catesby and Ratcliffe, and the Hog Richard III himself, whose cognisance was a white boar.

After changing hands once or twice, the Manor of Ufton Pole was purchased in 1567 by a Lady Mervyn, widow of Sir John Mervyn, of Fountell Gifford, in Wiltshire. She had been twice married, her first husband having been Richard Parkyns, a former Lord of the



UPTON COURT.



Manor of Ufton; and after her second widowhood she returned to the neighbourhood, made considerable additions to the house she bought, and finally died there in 1581. Having no children, she left the property to her first husband's nephew, Francis Parkyns, who was already the owner of the larger Manor of Ufton, to which it was henceforth joined.

Part of a much-mutilated monument may be seen in the Parish Church of Ufton, erected during her lifetime by Lady Mervyn to her own memory and that of her first husband, Richard Parkyns. There is also, recorded on a black board in the same church, a benefaction bequeathed by her to the poor of Ufton, which is still annually distributed in Mid-Lent from the hall of Ufton Court.

The oldest part of the Court is the kitchen. Perhaps it formed the central hall of the buildings of Lord Lovell's time, though these were probably not more than good-sized farm buildings; for the chief estates of the Lovell family were, as has been said, at Minster Lovell, where very extensive ruins of a noble residence still remain.

The kitchen has a massive arched timber roof, and must have been originally of fine proportions; in modern days, however, it has been divided by a floor into two storeys. At the further end the old buttery-hatch, now blocked up, can still be seen.

Lady Mervyn's additions consisted of the entire east front, the porch, and probably the two wings. This long, low facade is strikingly picturesque; no less than nineteen gables break the outline of the roof, the upper storeys project and overhang one another, and the lattice casements jut out still further on wooden brackets from the walls. The whole is constructed of a framework of oak posts and beams, filled in with rubble and covered with rough-cast.

The principal rooms are on this side of the house; the great hall, with a very beautiful stucco-work ceiling, occupies the usual place to the right of the entrance. Here are to be seen, on the upper part of the north wall, the initials of Lady Mervyn and her two husbands—**P R E** for Richard and Elizabeth Parkyns, and **M I E** for



John and Elizabeth Mervyn. They are in two small diamond-shaped panels, one on each side of an armorial shield, now blank. On the opposite side of the porch were the offices, and above them the library, which still retains its Elizabethan oak panelling and carved mantel-piece. This last bears the date and initials roughly scratched, "F. P. 1583," recording the ownership of Francis Parkyns, two years after he came into possession of the house at his aunt's death in 1581. On the same floor is a small oratory, with painted decorations of rather a later style, intended to represent panelling, with the sacred monograms MR and IHS alternating. Above, under the roof, is a long, low room which was used by the Parkyns family as a chapel when, after the Reformation, adhering to the old faith, they ceased to attend the services of their parish church. The decorations of this chapel are modern.

Also under the roof, but in the centre of the house, several curious hiding-places have been found, openings in the floor or in the walls, which were closed and concealed by panels turning on wooden posts, and fastened by spring locks, also of wood. These were no doubt contrived and used during the persecutions of Roman Catholics in Queen Elizabeth's time.

Returning to the hall by a fine staircase with good oak balustrades, and passing through a door at the upper end, we find the old dining-room—a large, low, square room, with a very ornamental stucco ceiling of the same date as that of the hall; *i.e.*, Elizabethan. It will be noticed, however, that the panelling in both the hall and dining-room is of a different style; the later history of the Perkins family, as they then called themselves, gives the explanation. In the year 1715, the then Lord of the Manor, Francis Perkins, married the reigning beauty of the London season, Arabella Fermor, the heroine of Pope's poem, "The Rape of the Lock;" and, perhaps to please this lady's taste, he re-fashioned, and partly rebuilt, all that part of the house to the north of the porch. He faced the walls with brick, and opened tall, narrow windows. He re-panelled the hall, the dining-rooms and drawing-rooms, and also the bed-rooms above. He added



UPTON COURT BEFORE RESTORATION.



an entire brick frontage to the west ; and the graceful flight of stone steps that leads down to the walled garden is also probably his work. The very incongruous effect of his alterations in connection with the timber-work of Elizabethan times still left on the other side of central porch may be judged of, as shown by drawings now in existence.

In this condition the house built in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and so much altered in Queen Anne's time, remained till the accession of Queen Victoria.

By then, the old family had become extinct, and the estate had passed by purchase into the possession of Mr. Benyon de Beauvoir, of Englefield. Finding the house in a very ruinous condition, this gentleman repaired it, and divided it into six cottages for as many of his work-people's families ; but in doing so he had regard to its original character. He blocked up the tall Queen Anne windows, but the smaller ones substituted were made careful copies of those of the Elizabethan period on the other side of the house, and the brick walls were concealed by woodwork and rough-cast, also, to match. As the alternative would probably have been the entire destruction of the old place, one must be glad that no more harm was done, and also thankful for what is left.





## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17TH, 1906.

R. H. FORSTER, ESQ., M.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the Royal Archæological Institute, for the "Archæological Journal,"* vol. xii, 2nd Series, Nos. 3 and 4.  
,, *Society of Antiquaries, London, for Vol. xx, 2nd Series, No. 11.*  
,, *Smithsonian Institute, for the "American Ethnology, Bulletin 28, and "Annual Report for 1904."*

Dr. Winstone exhibited two rushlight stands brought from Llandiloes, in Wales, inserted in massive blocks of oak and in perfect condition. Mr. Gould, in explaining how the rushlights were held and the falling tallow collected for re-use, said that these stands were of a similar type to those occasionally found in Essex. The Chairman exhibited a coin of Carausius, dredged up from the river in the Putney Reach. The coin is of a comparatively rare type, and is nearly identical with Cohen's No. 217, "Carausius." *Obverse*—Bust to right, with "Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug." *Reverse*—"Pax Aug." (the word "Pax" has disappeared, owing to untrue stamping), and figure of Peace, facing to left, holding an olive branch, and leaning on a staff. On either side of the figure are the letters B E, which are possibly a moneyer's mark; in the exergue MLXXI, meaning London Mint and value, the twenty-first part of a silver denarius.

Mrs. Collier then read a paper on "St. Clether: his Chapel and Holy Wells"—an interesting description of this Cornish saint, and of the chapel, and two wells connected with it, which have recently been restored; the most interesting feature being the fact that the water from the upper well was conducted in a channel through the north wall, flowed under the base of the altar, and emptied itself through the south wall into the lower well.

A paper by Dr. Russell Forbes, of Rome, on "The Curtian Lake," was read by the Chairman. The Curtian Lake was originally a marshy hollow between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills. One legend makes Mettus, or Metius Curtius, a Sabine leader, who was engulfed here while fighting against the Romans under Tullus Hostilius. Another tradition tells how, in B.C. 360, the earth opened in this place, and did not close till Curtius, armed and mounted, plunged into the chasm. If the latter story is more than a poetical legend of self-sacrifice, founded on the story of Mettus Curtius, Dr. Russell Forbes anticipates that the remains of Curtius and his horse will see the light of another day in the course of further explorations.

The Chairman, Mr. Gould, Mr. Kershaw, and others joined in the discussion which followed.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21ST.

R. H. FORSTER, ESQ., M.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :—

Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, F.S.A., Barkham Rectory, Wokingham.

Herbert C. Lott, Esq., Copthall Avenue, E.C.

The Boston Athenæum, Boston, U.S.A.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

*To the Smithsonian Institute for the "Twenty-third Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology."*

„ Kent Archæological Society for "Archæologia Cantiana," 1905.

„ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal," Part 4, vol. xxxv, 1905.

„ Royal Institute of British Architects for "Journal," 1905.

„ Sussex Archæological Society for "Collections," vol. xlviii.

„ Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Proceedings," vol. li.

„ Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "Magazine," December, 1905.

„ Essex Archæological Association for "Proceedings," vol. ix, Part 6 (New Series).

„ G. Baldwin Brown, Esq., M.A., for "The Care of Ancient Monuments," 1905.

Mr. Andrew Oliver read an interesting Paper on "Whitehall and the Strand," with lantern-slide illustrations, from photographs and

old engravings. The Paper dealt fully with Whitehall Palace, Northumberland House, the Palace of the Savoy, old Somerset House, and the other mansions of the nobility which once lined the river bank.

Mr. Emanuel Green, Mr. S. W. Kershaw, the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, Mr. Compton, and others took part in the discussion.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21ST, 1906.

R. H. FORSTER, ESQ., M.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for "Proceedings," vol. iii, 4th Series.*  
,, Smithsonian Institute for "Miscellaneous Collections," vol. iii, Part 2.  
,, Yorkshire Archæological Society for "Archæological Journal," Part 72.  
,, Royal Dublin Society for "Scientific Transactions," vol. ix (Series II).  
,, Rev. H. P. Stokes, LL.D., for "Chaplains and the Chapel of the University of Cambridge, 1256-1568."

The Rev. H. Cart gave an address entitled "A Delegate's Account of the Archæological Congress at Athens," illustrated by lantern-slides. After describing the proceedings of the Congress, Mr. Cart exhibited and explained a number of views of the Parthenon, the Propylæa, the Erectheum, the Temple of Theseus, the Dionysiac Theatre, and other buildings ; and these were followed by a series of views of surpassing interest, taken at Corinth, and during a tour in Thessaly. The views of the celebrated Vale of Tempe were particularly admired.

Mr. Emanuel Green, the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, and others took part in the discussion.









FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

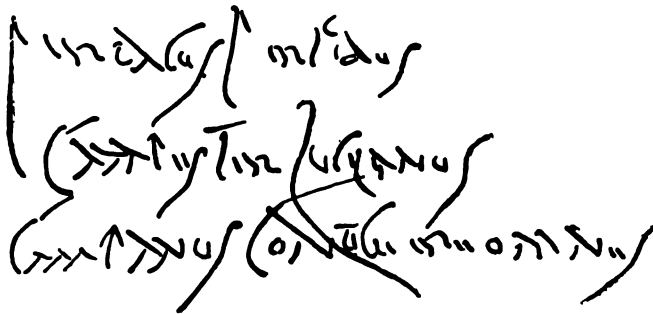


FIG. 3.

GRAFFITI FROM SILCHESTER.

Fig. 1. Puellam.

Fig. 2. Clementinus fecit tubum.

Fig. 3. Pertacus Perfidus Campester Lucilianus Campanus Conticuere omnes (probably a writing-lesson).



## Notices of Books.

THE ROMANIZATION OF ROMAN BRITAIN. By F. J. HAVERFIELD.  
Published for the British Academy. London: H. Frowde,  
1906.

INTO the thirty-three pages of this pamphlet, Dr. Haverfield has condensed much material which, in view of the limitation of our knowledge of the period under consideration, is of surpassing value.

The author well expresses the serious difficulties this limit imposes on us.

"We are moving in a dim land of doubts and shadows. He who wanders here wanders at his peril, for certainties are few, and that which at one moment seems a fact is only too likely, as the quest advances, to prove a phantom. It is, too, a borderland, and its explorers need to know something of the regions on both sides of the frontier. I make no claim to that double knowledge. I have merely tried, using such evidence as I can, to sketch the character of one region, that of the Romano-British civilization."

The period of the Roman Empire, often regarded as uncreative, was an epoch of growth in many directions, most of all in the organization of conquered lands—an organization which has outlived the world-power of Rome itself.

To us, interest centres on the evidences of Roman rule and influence in Britain. How may these be traced? Language tells us something, whether the words are found on coins or stone; and we gather that Latin was understood of the people, at all events over a large area. In the south, at Calleva (Silchester), we have proof that workpeople, presumably Celtic, wrote Latin.

"When a weary Brickmaker scrawls SATIS with his finger on a tile, or some prouder spirit writes CLEMENTINVS FECIT TVBVM (Clementinus made this box-tile); when a bit of Samian is marked FVR—presumably as a warning from the servants of one house to those of the next; or a rude brick shows the word PVELLAM—probably part of an amatory sentence, otherwise lost—we may be sure that the lower classes of Calleva used Latin alike at their work and in their more frivolous moments."

Tacitus tells us that under Agricola's influence the Britons became eager to speak the Roman tongue. Much more might be said on the

evidences afforded by the language and its survival ; while philology, though a weaker base of argument, helps to illustrate the extent to which Rome affected the people. The evidence which appeals most strongly to archaeologists is the material class—those hints of life afforded by remains of buildings, public and private, by pottery, glass, metal and wood ; and not least, the story of the treatment of the bodies of the dead—a story to be read, though yet imperfectly, in our numerous Roman cemeteries.

Dr. Haverfield dwells on the value of material evidence, and touches the fascinating subject of Celtic influence in the designs of pottery and metal objects, illustrating it by picturing some museum treasures and ten bits of New Forest pottery. Conditions of space forbid the insertion of a tenth part of all we would wish to say on various points suggested by this valuable pamphlet, but we must remark how conclusively evidences show that, in the more civilized portions of Britain, at least, the average conditions of life were favourable to enterprise.

“Skilled artisans abounded in Britain far more than in Gaul, and were fetched from the island to build public and private edifices as far south as Antun. Then, also, British corn was largely exported to the Rhine Valley, and British cloth earned a notice in the eastern Edict of Diocletian.”

Of the sad ending to this possibly golden age the author gives a brief summary, which we must pass ; but, before closing this notice the Ogam stone discovered at Silchester must be mentioned, for this tells us of a much forgotten factor, the survival—or revival—of Celtic feeling late in the Roman age in Britain.

“The circumstances of the discovery show that this pillar belongs to the very latest period in the history of Calleva. Its inscription is Goidelic ; that is, it does not belong to the ordinary Callevan population. It may best be explained, I think, as the work of some Western Celt, who reached Silchester before its British citizens abandoned it in despair.

“We do not know the date of that event, though we may conjecturally put it before A.D. 500. In any case, an Ogam monument had been set up before it occurred, and the presence of such an object there proves that Celtic things had come to be tolerated even in this eastern Romanized town.”

Not the least remarkable fact relating to the Romano-British period is that we know so little from our old chroniclers. They, even including Gildas, who wrote so near the era as about A.D. 540, seem to have known little or nothing of the history of the province. “Fairy tales” abound, but history is far to seek.

We have but one fault to find with respect to this work : that Dr. Haverfield has not given us more.

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**THE ART OF ATTACK AND DEVELOPMENT OF WEAPONS.** By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A. Ulverston : W. Holmes, Limited.

IN this book, Mr. Cowper has brought into one compass information which the inquirer usually has to seek for in the pages of publications issued by scientific societies and in catalogues of museums, with the result that a very excellent and readable volume upon a most interesting subject of archæological and ethnographical research is placed before the student at a reasonable price. The volume is profusely illustrated by capital pen-and-ink drawings, made by the author in the course of many years' study of his subject, from the earliest knowledge of the methods of primitive man in warfare, and of the uses of the weapons he employed in attacking his foes, down to the introduction of gunpowder.

The author states, in his preface, that his attention was drawn some years back, by papers written by the late General Pitt-Rivers, to the apparent development of certain weapon types from others and from natural forms ; and it seemed to him worth while to gather further material, and to try how far it would be possible to draw up a tabular pedigree of all types, from the most primitive down to gunpowder and developed explosives. He soon found, however, that the idea of a single table could not be established : nevertheless, it seemed probable that every weapon of offence (and those only are dealt with) might properly be included in one of seven or eight groups, each having its own primitive ancestral form ; and it is upon this assumption that the general scheme of the book is based. The volume forms a valuable book of reference, and will be a welcome addition to the library of the archæologist.

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**NORMAN ARCHITECTURE IN ESSEX.** By ERNEST GODMAN (Banstead), 1905.

ANTIQUARIES will welcome this, the last work from the author's pen, and deeply regret that the intention to issue four more volumes, each treating on a particular phase of architecture, can never be accomplished, for Ernest Godman has passed away.

Those of us who recently met him feared that the end might be near, but still hoped that he would live to continue his good work as Secretary of the Committee for the Survey of the Memorials of Greater London—but it was not to be.

This book contains thirty-seven pages of letterpress, with many illustrations interspersed in the text, followed by numerous views of church architecture ; the illustrations, whether in the text or on separate pages, being numbered for reference. The frontispiece is a



Castle Hedingham Church : South Doorway of Chancel.

Norman Architecture in Essex.

By Ernest Godman.

beautiful etching, showing the northern side of the nave of Waltham Abbey Church, one of the most glorious examples of Norman architect's work in England. Only two bays and a portion of a third are given, but in arcade and triforium these are perfect in their suggestive solidity.

In Mr. Godman's former work, *Medieval Architecture in Essex*, there were many passages showing with how much originality the writer viewed the evolution of structural detail in the builder-architect's craft. If we miss such features here, it is because the Norman period, so distinctly marked, has been the theme which has employed the pen of so many other students.

In the short space at our disposal, it is impossible to touch on many points of interest in this small volume, but we draw attention to p. 39, whereon Plate XXII shows the disfigurement made by an attempt to transform the Norman into the Early English style of architecture. The story of this attempted change is painfully manifest at the west end of Waltham's still splendid church; and we could wish the author had allowed himself to tell us the history of this drastic alteration, happily never completed. The lover of old ironwork will find several pleasing examples on the doors of Essex churches here illustrated, and views of doorways show the arches and undecorated tympana common in the eastern counties in Early Norman days.

The book is produced in antique style by the Essex House Press at Campden, on hand-made paper, in a limited edition, and is a worthy example of the printing executed in the quaint Gloucestershire town.<sup>1</sup>

HISTORY OF THE COMPANY OF CUTLERS IN HALLAMSHIRE. By R. E. LEADER. In Two Volumes. Sheffield, 1905-6.

FOLLOWING the excellent example of many Corporations, the Sheffield Cutlers' Company some time ago opened its archives to the investigator. These it placed in the hands of Mr. R. E. Leader (President of the Association in 1903-4), entrusting to him the compilation of its history. The result is the publication of two imposing folio volumes, replete with matter of antiquarian value.

This Company is unique, not only as almost the sole survivor of the old provincial trading corporations, but also because of the unswerving fidelity shown throughout its career to the definite objects of its foundation. By strict exclusion of any alien element from its ranks, by jealously ignoring the insidious device of "patrimony," and by

<sup>1</sup> We understand that a few copies remain for sale at 12s., and are in the hands of Mr. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

admitting those only who could gain admission to the trade by the duly prescribed processes, it has retained characteristics which place it in instructive contrast with the London Livery Companies. This steadfast adherence to its constitutional basis is the more remarkable in that its varied fortunes brought it, at times, within such measurable distance of collapse as must have called for very strong determination to resist temptations to palter with its integrity and to widen its doors. The manner in which, by its own inherent vitality, it combated assaults from without, defeated attacks from within, and painfully adapted itself to economic changes that made its trading ideals an anachronism, invests its story with something of the charm of an industrial romance.

While this is the general impression made by these volumes, the details given of ancient handicraft conditions will chiefly attract the archaeological student. In this respect the origin of the Cutlers' trades, its regulation under the feudal influences of the Manor Court, its development as a self-governing Guild, its quaint customs, its archaic methods, the old-time relations between employers and employed, the treatment of apprentices, the sluggish distribution of goods, the conflicts of the Sheffield cutlers with their London rivals or with the invaders of their hearths and with aggressive competitors—all these throw a flood of light, not only on the making of a notable industry, but also on life in a corner of provincial England.

To the world at large, the Sheffield Company is mainly known by reason of its "Cutlers' Feast." The chapter which traces the evolution of this banquet from the modest dinner provided for those attending the annual audit of the Master Cutler's accounts, abounds (no less than another devoted to "Inns and Treating") in revelations of the habits, surroundings, and scale of living of our ancestors. Just as significant is the description of the process to which the Company, after holding its first meetings in the bare, whitewashed "chamber" of an inn, built for itself, by an expenditure of £155, a modest hall, destined to have its meagre dimensions and the Spartan simplicity of its fittings expanded, through many stages, into palatial luxuriousness.

These, and many other topics, both trading and social, are dealt with in the first volume. The second, in the form of an appendix, is occupied with documents and details, including carefully-compiled lists, not only of the officers and freemen, but of all apprentices indentured from before incorporation in 1624 to the termination of the Company's jurisdiction over them in 1814.

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## Antiquarian Notes.

*Funeral Garlands.*—In the *Journal* of the Association (vol. vi, N. S., 1900) appeared a Paper by Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., on “Derbyshire Funeral Garlands,” by far the most complete account published upon these quaint relics of a custom for the most part quite forgotten, though apparently common till a hundred years ago.

The place nearest to London where mouldering remains of maidens’ garlands can still be seen is the picturesquely-situated little church of Theydon Mount, in Essex. Here, suspended from the roof, they hang, high above destruction from rough handling, but gradually decaying in the course of years.

Our Associates know that such garlands were carried in the funeral processions of young unmarried women, and afterwards suspended over the seat in church usually occupied by the deceased. Dr. Brushfield’s Paper gave so full a description of the garlands, and their appendant “gloves,” that it is not necessary to say more on the point.

The object of this note is to draw attention to the interesting fact that at Abbott’s Ann, near Andover, the custom of carrying garlands at funerals, and of suspending them in the church, survives to this day. *Church Bells* (April 21st) gives two illustrations of the garlands, and states that they are now put up to commemorate unmarried men as well as maidens.

*Berwick Walls.*—As the Association took part in the happily successful protest against the intended demolition of part of the mediæval walls of Berwick, the following paragraph, which we quote from the *Daily Telegraph* of April 4th, 1906, will be found interesting :—

“Excavations at Berwick old post-office disclose extensive portions of fortifications built by Edward III, who regarded the border capital as his chief fortress of the North. The discoveries include a portion of ramparts running east from King Robert Bruce’s wall, and constructed 570 years ago, after Edward’s great victory over the Scottish army on Halidon Hill, just outside Berwick town.”

Probably the date should be somewhat earlier. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, generally a trustworthy authority in Border affairs, says (*sub*



*anno mcccx*) ; . . . "Berwicum, quam villam rex Angliæ muro fort et alto et fossa fecerat circumcingi," i.e., the walls were built by Edward II ; and this is confirmed by a subsequent passage (*sub anno mcccxxxiii*), which describes the siege of Berwick by Edward III and Edward Baliol immediately before the battle of Halidon Hill.

"Infra octavum Ascencionis Domini, dederunt ambo reges cum suo exercitu insultum gravem dictæ villæ, sed intus existentes (propter fortitudinem et altitudinem muri, quem pater regis Angliæ constitui fecerat dum villa erat in ditione sua) fortiter restiterunt." etc.

It is well to note that, besides the remains of the mediæval wall, Berwick possesses Elizabethan fortifications, constructed in 1560-5, which are very interesting, and practically perfect. They are of smaller compass than the line of the mediæval wall.

*Roman Yorkshire.*—The inaugural meeting of the newly-formed Roman Antiquities Committee for Yorkshire was held at York, in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, on March 3rd, 1906, when the following officers were elected :—

Chairman.—Dr. Bodington (Vice-Chancellor, Leeds University).

Vice-Chairmen.—The Rev Canon Julian and Mr. J. Norton Dickons.

Additional members of the Executive.—Messrs. T. Boynton, E. S. Forster, and T. Sheppard.

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.—Mr. S. D. Kitson.

The object of the Committee is to advance the study of Roman antiquities in the county, and in some degree to co-ordinate the work of archæological research with the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield. The Committee has decided to undertake the following work during the ensuing summer :—

1. The investigation of the Roman road from Ilkley to Adel and Tadcaster, under the supervision of Sir John Barran, Bart.
2. The excavation of the Roman villa at Harpham, under Mr. T. Sheppard, of Hull.
3. The investigation of the Roman road between Stamford Bridge and Filey, under Mr. W. Stevenson, of Hull.
4. The excavation of Roman foundations at Middleham, for which Dr. Bodington undertook to make preliminary arrangements.
5. The investigation of Roman remains at Well, near Tanfield, under Mr. Dickons.
6. A joint excursion, with the Manchester Antiquities Society, for the investigation of the Roman road over Blackstone Edge.

*Recovery of Lost Deeds.*—The historical student has so frequently to lament the indifference too often displayed by past generations to the preservation of important documents, that news of the recovery of strayed papers is pleasant reading. In a book reviewed on another page (*History of the Sheffield Cutlery Company*), there are mentioned not a few examples of embarrassments caused by the disappearance of records; but interspersed with these are cases in which, after long wanderings in oblivion, documents have found their way back to the muniment room. One such case was an arbitration award of 1628, throwing much light on the then state of the cutlery industry, and the relations existing between the Company and its constituents. This was casually recovered in 1885. A similar incident has just come under our notice. The Charity Commissioners' Report on the endowed Charities of Sheffield (1897) notes that in the absence of a deed of 1736, establishing the Bamforth Charity, the benefaction has been administered by the Trustees "by tradition," and without such guidance on sundry important points as the instrument might be expected to give. Nor was an elucidation forthcoming from the wills of the two foundresses, since search for one, at least, of these in the York Registry has been fruitless. The missing original deed has just been discovered among a miscellaneous bundle of old papers, casually purchased from a second-hand bookseller's catalogue. It possesses the additional advantage of quoting from the lost will of the foundress the clause relating to the benefaction.

*Victoria and Albert Museum.*—Under the title of the *Red Line Guide*, Messrs. Keliher and Co. have published, at the price of Sixpence, a handbook which includes no less than sixty excellent illustrations of the more important objects from the various sections of the Art Museum, with a scholarly description of each. It also contains an innovation in the shape of a Museum Itinerary, enabling the student to find his way as expeditiously as possible to the objects illustrated. The book, which is evidently the work of an expert, gives extraordinary value for so small a price.



## Obituary.

### SIR CHARLES HENRY ROUSE-BOUGHTON.

THIS gentleman, who died at Downton Hall, Ludlow, on February 20th, was President of the Ludlow Congress of the Association (1867), and was, under the rules, a Vice-President at his decease. He was born in 1825, and succeeded his father as baronet in 1856. He was educated at Harrow, and served in the 52nd Foot from 1843 to 1854. He was a Magistrate for the Counties of Hereford, Worcester, and Salop; High Sheriff of the last-named County in 1860, Chairman of the Ludlow County Bench, a Freeman of Ludlow, and also a Member of the Governing Body of the Grammar School, and a Charity Trustee. His Presidential Address, in 1867, before our Association, was a valuable epitome of Shropshire history. He married, in 1852, Mary Caroline, daughter of John Michael Serverne, of Thenford, Northants, and Wallop Hall, Salop. She died in 1892. He leaves two sons, and a daughter, who is the wife of Sir Offley Wakeman, Bart., Chairman of the Shropshire Quarter Sessions. Sir Charles was buried on February 25th, with his late wife, at Middleton Chapel.

T. CANN HUGHES.

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### LORD ALWYNE COMPTON.

WE lost one of our Vice-Presidents by the death, on April 4th, at Canterbury, of Lord Alwyne Compton. He was born in 1826, and was a son of the second Marquis of Northampton. Since 1882 he had served as Lord High Almoner. He was Dean of Worcester from 1879 to 1885, and whilst holding this office presided over our Congress at Great Malvern in 1881, delivering a most excellent address, and receiving the Association at Worcester. He was a good antiquary, being especially an authority on the study of ancient encaustic tiles. He held the Bishopric of Ely from 1886 to 1905. He was buried by the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, at St. Martin's, Canterbury, on April 7th.

T. CANN HUGHES.

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### RICHARD CLOUT.

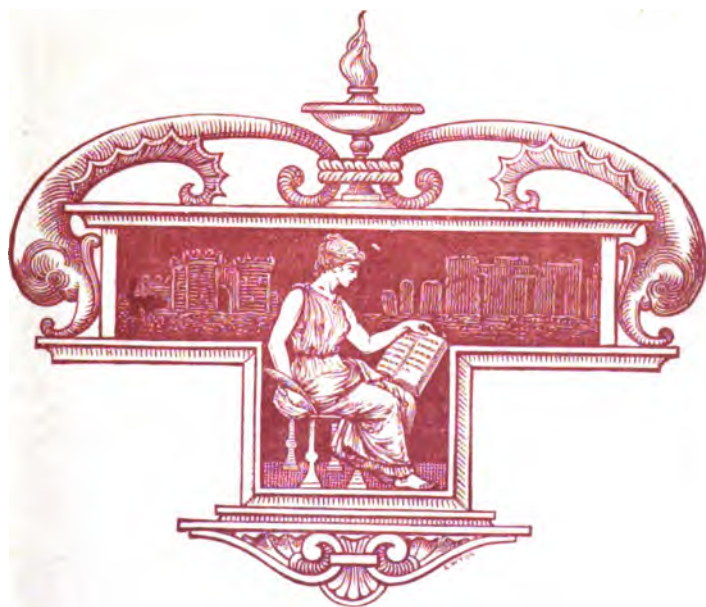
MR. RICHARD CLOUT, of Brome House, West Malling, who died on March 2nd, at the age of eighty, was well known and greatly respected in the neighbourhood where he resided. He was the oldest Member of the Patten-Makers' Company, and a Past-Master, a prominent Freemason, and a representative of Malling on the Rural District Council and the Board of Guardians.

NEW SERIES. VOL. XII.—PART II.

JUNE, 1906.

THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
BRITISH  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR THE  
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



London:  
PUBLISHED FOR THE ASSOCIATION  
BY  
DAVID NUTT, 57-59, LONG ACRE.

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ABBEY GATE, ABINGDON.  
(From a Photo. by Warland Andrew, Abingdon.)



# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

JUNE, 1906.

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### THE HISTORY OF ABINGDON.

BY THE REV. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read at the Reading Congress, 1905.)



BINGDON, or Seovesham, or Seukesham, was at one time the royal residence of our Saxon Kings. It is described by the chronicler as *civitas formosa . . . divitiis plena*—a beautiful city and full of riches, where, when the weighty affairs of the kingdom were being determined, a vast number of people assembled. It is rich, too, in monkish legend and historical associations of old time, rich in the existing relics and picturesque beauty of to-day. The old red roofs and white gables of the houses add to its beauty; and to-day, as in the time of the chronicler, it is encircled by "rich fields, flowery meadows, and wide-spreading pastures with milk-bearing kine."

Offa the powerful King of the Mercians and West Saxons, became enamoured of the spot called the Isle of Andresey, near the monastery; and for this island he gave to the Abbot the manor of Goosey, and built a palace. King Egfrid died here in 694; but during the



reign of Kenwulf, the palace was deserted by the court, and inhabited only by huntsmen, falconers, and other servants, who were not considered by the monks as very desirable neighbours. Abbot Rethun gave to the King the house of Sutton Courtenay, together with 120 lbs. of silver, in exchange for the island, which thus became again the property of the Abbey. Leland states that the site of the palace was in his time a barn.

The name Abingdon has been derived from Abba, an early Saxon, who settled in Berkshire with his family and followers (signified by the patronymic *ing*), and *don*, which of course means a fortified place or stockade. Legends tell us of a British noble named Aben, who escaped from the slaughter of Hengist in 460 (another legend makes Aben an Irish or Celtic monk), and took up his abode on a richly-wooded hill, about three miles from here, where he lived as a hermit, built an oratory, and passed his life in piety and seclusion. His oratory was much venerated, and it was the site of the early foundation of the Abbey.

The circumstances of that foundation are as follows :— In the reign of Kentwin, King of the West Saxons, and while Cissa ruled as sub-king, one Hean, the nephew of Cissa, obtained from his uncle a grant of land for a monastery amid “Bagley Wood” (of that period) on the spot called Abben’s Hill. According to the chronicle, this was “a little beyond the vill called Sunningwell, between two very lovely streams which enclose the spot *quasi quemdam sinum*”—in other words, near Bayworth, or Chilswell, where Chilswell farm now stands on an old property of the Abbey, below Henwood, possibly Hean’s wood. Cadwalla, when King of Wessex, granted also some twenty hides ; but Ine, on ascending the throne, finding that Hean had not complied with Cissa’s grant, revoked it, and restored the land to the commonwealth. Hean then promised that there should be no delay, and took the vows of the monk.

A legend was subsequently fabricated to account for this delay. A Cottonian manuscript on the Abbots of Abingdon states that the work of the builders did not prosper : all the walls that were built one day fell down the next, and a hermit told Hean he had been informed

by a vision that the site was disapproved, and that he must remove his building to Seukesham, and there erect an abbey in honour of God and the Virgin. Thus a few years later arose the once-stately monastery which made Abingdon so important, ecclesiastically and historically. There is a description extant of this first Abbey of Abingdon: it was 120 ft. long, and had a semicircular apse at the east and west ends. There were twelve cells for the monks, but no refectory. The buildings were surrounded by a high wall, and no female was ever allowed to enter the precincts.

Many fair acres were soon added to the property of the Abbey. Ine gave 273 hides of land in Bradfield, Beetleford, Streatley, and Ermondslea (*i.e.*, Appleton), and also the manor of Goosey; but, like all other great institutions, it had to pass through periods of storm and stress. The town stood in the old kingdom of Wessex, on the borders of the rival kingdom of Mercia. War broke out between these rival sovereignties, and important battles were fought in the neighbourhood. In 752 Cuthred, King of Wessex, gained a decisive victory at Burford over Ethelbald, King of the Mercians. Twenty years afterwards, Offa of Mercia defeated Kynewulf of Wessex at Bensington, and Abingdon suffered severely by their military operations. Another calamity was the inroads of the Danish hosts, which slew, destroyed, and plundered wherever they went. At length they came to the holy and venerable house of the monks at Abingdon, and left nothing but the bare walls standing. The shrines were pillaged, and the sacred vessels melted down to make bracelets for pagan deities.

It seems strange that Berkshire folk should speak evil of King Alfred—"the darling of the English;" but he pleased not the monks of Abingdon, and is compared by the chronicler to Judas for taking away from the monastery the government of the town. The monastery arose from its ashes in increased magnificence; the monks returned from their wanderings, and the zeal of kings and nobles exhibited itself in more profuse liberality. But during the period of anarchy caused by the Danish wars, the religious spirit of monasticism languished, and worldliness crept in to destroy the zeal and devotion of

the monks. In 939 Athelstan bestowed on the Abbey many relics which he had received from Hugh Capet; and, a few years later, we find a curious story of a dispute between the monks and their Oxfordshire neighbours about the right to a certain meadow between them and Iffley, which Mr. Frank Morland has identified as Bury Mead, now in the parish of Sunningwell. The dispute was settled by taking a round shield, fixing on it a lighted taper, and placing it in the river. Wonderful to relate, the shield floated upstream, and obligingly traced out by its course the possessions of the Abbey, to the satisfaction of the monks and also of their opponents.

The decay of religion was rapid, and evil times fell on the monastery. It was almost deserted, and its lands were taken possession of for the King, "of the cause of which misfortune," says the chronicler, "I have nothing certain to say." But a better day was in store for the fortunes of the house: a reformer was needed, and the hour brought the man. At the court of Athelstane there was a noble youth named Ethelwold, who attracted the King's attention and was placed for his education with Alphege, Bishop of Winchester. In course of time he was sent to Abingdon, which was almost a ruin, materially and morally. A fresh band of monks was attracted by his worth and zeal, and he restored the monastery to its former state. It is not too much to say that Ethelwold, Abbot of Abingdon, together with Dunstan and Oswald, effected such a monastic reform, that the system was saved by them and became again a source of benefit to mankind.

This saintly artist wrought with his own hands many ornaments for the sanctuary: a reredos containing figures of the twelve Apostles in gold and silver, a high altar, a wheel full of bells to be chimed on festivals, twelve suspended lamps, and three silver crosses, each 4 ft. high. He rebuilt the church, and sent Olgar abroad to learn singing, in order to teach the brethren the right way of conducting the service. He gave a noble chalice, three gold and silver cups, and many other ornaments, and a silver tablet, worth £300, which remained to the days of Abbot Vincent. The monastery, however, was not purged of all its bad characters, as two false monks

carried off all they could lay hands on of gold and silver, and made off to Normandy with their booty. Ethelwold also constructed the mill-stream for the Abbey mill, and deepened the channel of the river. Some years later, Abingdon had another skilled goldsmith, one Sparhavoc, who, it is said, was commissioned by William I to fashion a royal crown, and unhappily decamped with the materials; but as he was at that time Bishop of London, Abingdon has no share in his disgrace.

The chronicler records with pride the many gifts which flowed into the monastic treasury : the gift, in 1015, of a casket of relics, a copy of the Gospels bound in gold and silver, with a silver cup and a priest's vestment, by a noble lady named Eadflæda; the gift by Canute of a casket of gold and silver, containing the relics of St. Vincent of Spain; Athelwin's casket and cup of silver, and relics of St. Edward, King and Martyr. Edward and his Queen came to visit the Abbey, and finding the boys of the monastic school dining in poor fashion off bread, the Queen, in pity, asked permission of her husband to give her property at Lewknor in order to provide more liberally for their maintenance, with which request the King readily complied.

I must pass over the doings of several abbots. Odric, who succeeded Sparhavoc, gained some privileges from Edward the Confessor. He also made a new cut from a little above the town to just below the bridge, in order to facilitate navigation; and as an acknowledgment for this service, every boat passing through had to pay to the Cellarer of the Abbey a hundred herrings.

The Norman Conquest wrought much evil here. The men of Abingdon and its Abbey fought against William, and suffered severely; the Abbot himself (Aldred) was imprisoned in Wallingford Castle, and the Normans did much mischief in the Abbey. One Athelm—a Saxon in name, but educated in Normandy—was appointed Abbot by William. The choice was a wise one, as he was acceptable to both his English and Norman neighbours. He was a friend of Robert D'Oyley, of Wallingford and Oxford, who frequently stayed at the Abbey. On one occasion, the wily Baron fairly talked the Abbot out of the possession of Tadmarton, to the grief and consterna-

tion of the monks ; but subsequently D'Oyley had a terrible dream of his being accused before a queen in a royal palace, and of being smoked with burning hay by some ill-behaved boys. This so troubled him that he restored the property to the Abbey.

I have always understood that Prince Henry, afterwards Henry I, was educated here, and was so well taught by the monks that he earned the name Beauclerk ; but if this were true, it is strange that the chronicler should have omitted to mention the fact. The Prince certainly kept Easter here in 1087, and perhaps this visit gave rise to the tradition.

The Norman period was renowned for its church-building, and here in Abingdon Norman builders were at work. In 1091, they began to enlarge the old Abbey church built by Ethelwold ; but they imprudently meddled with the foundations of the tower, and on Friday morning, March 28th, as the monks were going to sing matins, the tower fell with a loud crash, putting out the lights which the monks were carrying in procession. All fell to the ground, expecting death, but happily no one was hurt. The work of building was postponed till after Easter.

Some of the Abbots of Abingdon were vigorous defenders of the rights of their Abbey. On one occasion, when the King's bailiff had dared to cut wood in Bagley Wood, Abbot Athelm pursued him on horseback, and made him wade through the River Ock up to his neck. On another occasion, when the bailiff took the Abbey oxen to do the King's work, the Abbot upset the wagons, took back the oxen, and thrashed the bailiff with his own staff. This Abbot was succeeded by Rainald, who was in favour with William Rufus ; and he was followed by Faritius, an Italian of great ability and learning, who set about rebuilding the monks' lodgings and enlarging the church. William Rufus was not a respecter of ecclesiastical property, and dealt hardly with the monastery : hence, says the chronicler, he was slain by the arrow of Sir Walter Tyrel in the New Forest.

Amongst the Verney Papers were discovered the accounts of the monks of the Abbey, which have been published by the Camden Society, and are full of interest.

The title is *The Obedientary Accounts*, and the book gives us the receipts and expenditure of the various officers, such as the Precentor, Sacristan, Cellarer, Almoner, etc. I find that 383 quarters of malt were assigned to the Cellarer to brew for the convent, its ale being evidently great in quantity and good in quality. Three barbers received thirty shillings a year for shaving. There is great expenditure in building, and Simon the Glassmaker is well rewarded for his pains. The food is good and varied: beef, pork, mutton, veal, eggs, salmon, and oysters appear on the menu; and £179 16s. 0½d. is spent under this head. The monks evidently had a liberal table. The monks of St. Swithin complained to Henry VI that the Bishop of Winchester had reduced their number of dishes to ten, but the King replied that he only had three himself, and ordered the Bishop to reduce the monks' dishes to that number.

We must now notice the rising of another power, which entered on a long-continued struggle with the autocratic rule of the Abbots—the power of the towns. Evidences of this struggle are observable all over England, and especially in places such as Abingdon, where the burghers, with their guilds, were striving for freedom, and were confronted with a powerful Abbot, who for centuries had had dominion over them. These good burghers were very pugnacious, very quarrelsome, and very eager for their rights. They forgot all the services which a great Abbey had rendered them in the past, by raising their town to a position of importance; while the Abbot forgot that the children whom he had brought up, scolded, and ruled, were growing up to man's estate, and chafed at his discipline.

The first evidence of the struggle at Abingdon was a great stir to get rid of the toll of 100 herrings levied on the Oxford boats, but this failed. Then the good burghers wanted to hold free market. This began in the time of Abbot Vincent, who gained the ear of Henry I, and by a judicious expenditure of 300 marks (to pay which he had to strip the tablet of St. Ethelwold of its gold and silver ornaments) maintained the rights of the Abbey. The struggle was renewed in the time of Henry II: the men of Wallingford gained the King's

ear, and, armed with his authority, marched to Abingdon, and strove to stop the Abbot's market; but the Abbot's men plucked up courage, and drove the men of Wallingford ignominiously from the town. The matter came before a jury, and there was much swearing and counter-swearing. Much money was expended by the Abbot, but he won his cause in the end, and the chronicler considers that the money was well spent, and that the Abbot could not do less than defend the rights of his monastery.

The struggle was renewed in 1327, when the Abbey was sacked by the townsfolk, assisted by the scholars of Oxford, who, according to Anthony A'Wood, were of a desperate condition, and glad of any diversion rather than study. On account of this outrage, twelve persons were hanged, and fifty others condemned to various punishments. In 1431, while Henry VI was in France, a formidable insurrection broke out under William Mandeville, the object of which was to level all distinctions of class and privilege. Mandeville was the Socialist of his day, and he had a special enmity against the clergy, "whose heads were to be made as cheap as sheeps' heads—three or four a penny." The Duke of Gloucester hastened to Abingdon to make peace, seized Mandeville, and made his head somewhat cheap by hanging him.

There is much to be said of the activity of Abingdon men in the Middle Ages for the improvement and development of their town. They founded a Guild of the Holy Cross in the time of Richard II, built bridges and a hospital, and set up a beautiful market cross, which stood on the site of the present County Hall, erected in 1677 from designs by Inigo Jones. The monuments in the churches tell us of the fame of the prominent citizens of ancient days: of Geoffrey Barber, merchant, in the fifteenth century; Sir John Mason, John Roysse, founder of the famous school, and many other men renowned in the annals of Abingdon. The place must have had its own poet in mediæval times, for we find a remarkable set of verses composed by a monk on the building of the bridge in 1416, and hung in Christ's Hospital.

In 1262, Robert de Hendred used the mitre for the first time, and is said to have been the first Abbot to enjoy that

privilege, which gave him a seat in the House of Lords. Of the later Abbots, the only one of distinction was John Sante, Ambassador at Rome in the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII. He and his successors rebuilt the central tower and the body of the church, and added the tower at the west end. At last the decree for its suppression went forth. The last Abbot, Thomas Pentecost, elected in 1514, on the 14th of February, 1539, with the rest of the community, signed the surrender of the monastery, and was allowed to keep the manor of Cumnor (value £223 per annum), in addition to a pension. The gross rental of the Abbey was £2,042 a year, and pensions, ranging from £22 to £2 13s. 4d., were given to the monks. .

Of the buildings we have but scanty remains. Leland (*temp.* Henry VIII) saw the Abbey, and describes it as a magnificent pile. The chief feature of all that remains is the western gateway. In the fifteenth century it was visited by William of Worcester, who has recorded for us the principal measurements of the church. His units are *virgæ* and *gressus*, and it is not quite certain what their lengths are, but it has been estimated that the total length was 360 ft.

We have seen the town increasing its power and measuring its strength with its ecclesiastical lord; but, when the Abbey was destroyed, the burghers found that its removal was not an unmixed blessing. Their town suffered enormously, and in the first charter granted by Philip and Mary it is stated that "our town of Abingdon is an ancient and populous town, and inhabited by many poor people, which town is the Capital Town of our said County of Berks, and is in so great ruin and decay for want of repairing of the houses and buildings within the same, that it is likely to come to extreme calamity if remedy thereof be not by us provided." Accordingly, a Charter was granted—the predecessor of eight others—which helped the good burghers to renew their prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

The Civil War period was a trying time for Abingdon

<sup>1</sup> The following are the dates of the Abingdon Charters:—3 and 4 Philip and Mary, 7 Elizabeth, 7 James I (three), 2 James II, 12 George II, 14 George III, and 6 William IV.



folk. Prince Rupert came here with his army in 1642, and he stayed at the "Unicorn"—now pulled down. On his departure Lord Wilmot was left in charge of the town; but, on the approach of the Parliamentary Army, he cowardly retreated to Oxford, and left it to his enemies. The Earl of Essex entered Abingdon on May 16th, 1644, with 10,000 men, followed by Sir William Waller, and in one short day destroyed much of the loveliness and glory produced in so many years. The soldiers pulled down the beautiful Market Cross, riddled the windows of the church with bullets, and burnt the tables and chess-boards of the people. Several attempts were made by the Royalists to regain the town, which, being so near Oxford, was a continual thorn in the side of the garrison of that city. In one of these attempts Sir Henry Gage was killed by a stray bullet at Culham Bridge.

There is very much more that could be said of the chronicles of this ancient town, and of the clothing industry which once flourished here (Leland states that Abingdon "stondeth by clothing"), as well as in the other fair towns of the royal county. Mr. Challinor's book of the Records of the Borough abounds with interesting details of the inner life and progress of the town, and tells us much of its chief men. A glance at the names of the streets recalls some interesting associations. There is Stert Street, which takes its name from the Stert river, which formed the moat of the Abbey and flowed under St. Nicholas Church, which stood on arches. There is also St. Edmund Street, named after one of Abingdon's most famous sons, St. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was born here in low estate in 1195. In 1288 Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, built a chapel to his memory, where Mass was said daily for his soul. Then there is the Vineyard, where the monks grew their grapes: items for gathering grapes and propping vines being found in the Abbey accounts.

The town possesses an unusually valuable store of plate, many of the cups and other silver treasures having been presented by the High Steward of the Borough, the Earl of Abingdon.



## ST. CLEther: HIS CHAPEL AND HOLY WELLS.

By MRS. COLLIER.

(Read January 17th, 1906.)



It was only in the year 1897 that practical attempts were set on foot to unearth the submerged ruins of a chapel and holy wells which were known to have existed in the neighbourhood of St. Clether's Church, in the Inny Valley, Cornwall. The successful result of the work may be said to be entirely owing to the action and energy of the well-known antiquary and writer, the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, who with the consent of the owner of the land took up the work, and, assisted by local donations and subscriptions, was enabled to carry it to a satisfactory conclusion.

It may be of interest to record, in the first place, such particulars as to the life of the Saint as have been handed down by history or tradition. St. Clether, then, was of Welsh extraction, a grandson of Brychan, King and Confessor, of whom some curious accounts remain in a manuscript transcribed by William of Worcester. Brychan, according to tradition, had come over from Ireland and conquered, or colonised, Wales and a part of Cornwall and North Devon, assisted by his brother Muirtach, and founded the reigning house there. This is legendary, but has been judged to have some foundation in fact. Brychan is credited with a family of twenty-four children. Amongst them is reckoned Clydwyn, father of Clether, Clydog, or Cleder, as the Saint's name has been variously recorded. A daughter of St. Brychan married St.

Brynach, Abbot and Confessor, described as "soul-friend" and spiritual director of the said St. Brychan. He had been a great traveller, but finally settled in Cornwall, where he died, having gained a great name for sanctity and miracles. It is recorded in his life that his estate in Wales adjoined that of his brother-in-law, Clydwyn, King of Carmarthen; but apparently the son, St. Clether, found his uncle, St. Brynach, already living as a hermit on the moors of Cornwall, when after an adventurous life he made his way to that county, where others also of his numerous relations had preceded him, and (as it was said) kindled a fire in the valley, which at that period was an assertion of claim to the possession of the land.

The spot which Clether chose for his retreat must, in its general features and advantages, have borne much the same aspect fifteen centuries ago as at the present time: for it is still a lonely and little-populated neighbourhood, the natural wildness and picturesque situation being unbroken, but for a solitary farm or manor house, and the parish church of St. Clether, distant about half a mile from the chapel and holy wells. The fine heather-grown slope, the great sheltering rocks on either hand, and an unfailing spring of water, which to this day bubbles up from the earth and follows the same course down to the channel of the stream below, were no doubt determining causes in the Saint's choice of his dwelling-place; and one may even form an idea of the sort of cell or retreat of the hermit which could easily be found among the projecting and ivy-covered rocks. Sheltered from the north and east, and on the sunny side of the valley, with a natural roof formed of the strange overhanging slabs of stone, it would want but a little clearing away of earth to make a covered dwelling suited to the simple needs of the holy man.

St. Clether does not appear to have been one of the most solitary of the ascetics. Mr. Baring-Gould, who records his life, amongst other Cornish saints, tells us that he settled near his kinsfolk when he fixed on the Inny Valley: Morwenna, his aunt, and Nectan, his uncle, were both resident in the neighbourhood. St. Brynach had already won a name for special sanctity; but accord-





ST. CLETHER'S CHAPEL : THE UPPER WELL.  
(From a Photo. by the Rev. F. Partridge, Vicar of St. Clether.)

ing to the legends of his miracles, he was settled in a more distant part of the county, near the River Cam, where he founded the church of Braunton.

Clether, having fixed his abode in the Inny Valley, hallowed the spot by setting up his oratory, and also founding a sanctuary by placing crosses at set distances round the tract of land, which according to the laws of those times constituted a refuge and safety from pursuit. It seems probable that Clether may have consecrated the well which he discovered, and used it as holy water to baptise the converts he made. It is not possible to trace any very early record of a building over it, but it has been conjectured that there was possibly a pagan well on the spot, which attracted St. Clether, and which he converted to Christian purposes; and soon after the death of the Saint, the place had become noted as a source of miraculous healing, through the power of sanctification conferred by his blessing.

However, it is in the remains of the fifteenth-century buildings that the chief interest of the discovery lies. A few years ago, nothing could be seen above ground but a ragged bit of wall rising out of a swamp, and above it an opening in the ground from which trickled a stream, meandering down the hill by various channels, and losing itself in the little river below. The scene, as photographed prior to the commencement of the excavations, gave indeed little promise of the result which has brought to light this most curious building, its chief points of interest being unearthed, and so plainly capable of reconstruction in every respect according to the original design.

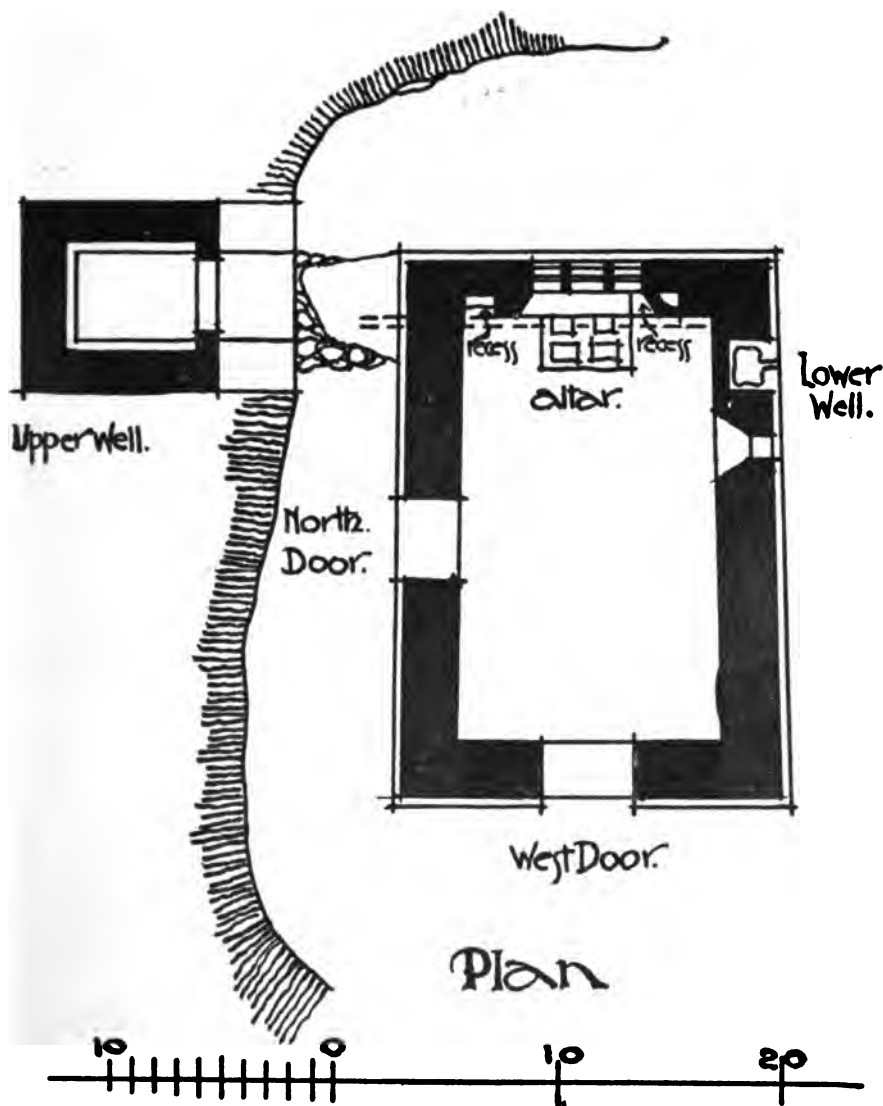
The work was not easy, nor could it be speedily carried out, for the place was partly sunk in water, which had to be drained and diverted before the actual excavation could be begun. The first success was the discovery of the upper holy well, which remained with jambs in place, an arch, though broken, and enough of the wall standing to judge of the size and outline. The trough beneath, cut out of granite, was quite perfect, and the hope was now entertained that further discoveries would now be made. As might be expected, the search for the foundations en-

tailed some collapse of the ruined walls, which had been, to a certain extent, supported by the accumulation of earth and rubbish within and without the area of the chapel.

The clearance, under the supervision of the Rev. A. H. Malan, to whom I am indebted for this account, revealed the existence of the altar at the east end, which remained standing on four upright supports of rough stone, the slab at the top resting in its place, although no mortar had been employed to fix it, and many heavy stones had fallen upon and around it. Close to the north-east corner of the east wall a small recess was discovered ; and there was another and larger recess at the south end of the altar in the same wall. At the south-east corner of the south wall a slab of granite, resting on a set-off, remained in place.

The work was now continued on the outer side of the wall, and some lengths of coping and wall-plate, as well as the sill, jambs, and tracery of the east window were discovered ; and presently, on the east corner, two jambs set in the face of the south wall were found, and a granite trough, with an arch just above, exposing another well. It was now conjectured that there might be a passage from the upper well above the north-east corner of the chapel, made to communicate with the lower one on the south side, *vid* the east wall. There was observed to be a lip for an outflow into the lower well ; and when the covering stones at the mouth of the upper well were removed, a granite drain, well hollowed out, proved to be still in existence, passing into the east wall. To test the theory, long hazel rods were pushed up and down the drain through the recesses at either end, with the result that directly the channel was cleared the water from the upper well came running through the original conduit to the lower one, just as it must have done many centuries ago, flowing under the base of the altar, and emptying itself through the south end of the wall into the well hollowed on the outer side of the building. All the excavation and clearance had been done with so much caution and success that the lower corner of the east wall reappeared quite intact, and the course of the water

through the ancient gutter-pipe remained exactly as it was at the time the chapel was destroyed; nor has any

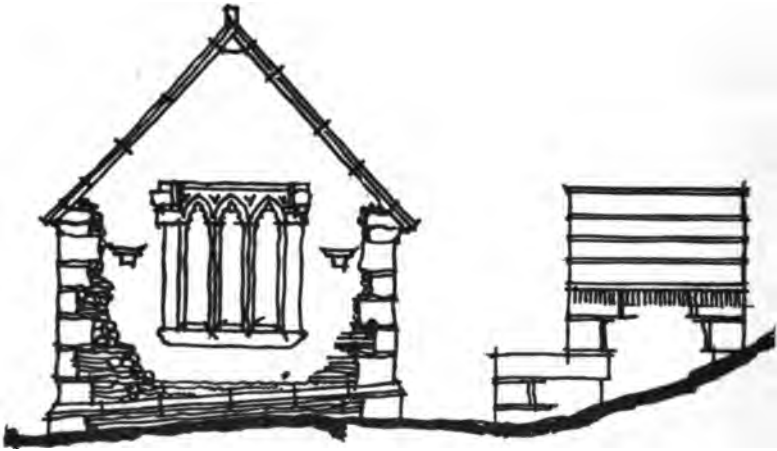


alteration been required with regard to this most curious disposition of the water-channel.

It was possible, after the clearance of the soil in and around the ruined remains, to take exact measurements



of the chapel, and also to fix the date of the building approximately, the architecture giving evidence of fifteenth-century work, but very roughly executed. The lower courses of the east wall were left untouched, as found; the windows, doors, and gables of wrought stone were capable of reconstruction, and the altar remained, with front supports wide at the base, and tapered to fit the heavy top slab. Over it, the east window, with three lights, was of better work; and two pedestals, one on either side, doubtless for statues, were comparatively carefully executed.



East Elevation.

The sill of the east window was found, and though it was out of place, its position could be determined by the portion of wall remaining, 4 ft. in height. The wide window would require the walls to be nearly 9 ft. high, while there were not quoins enough for them to be higher; so that for the restoration a height of 9 ft. was fixed. The gable-ends and top gave the pitch of the roof. The jambs of the west door were also in position, with the arch-head and wall-splay giving the width between them, though those of the north door had fallen. The sill of the two-light window was found outside the west door, and so denoted its place in that gable; the only other window was a single light, of which the position could

not be ascertained, but it was conjectured that it might have been placed at the side, where it would give light to the officiating priest. The position of the two pedestals was also uncertain, and in the restoration they have been put on either side of the east window. Two corbels also could not be accounted for, but may have been set where the ends of a screen-top originally had been. No signs of a floor were found, nor any trace of a raised step to the altar.

The foundations showed that the chapel was irregular, viz. : 9 in. wider at the west end than at the east, the plinth on the north side being 9 in. higher than that on the south. A level struck from the step of the west door gave the height of 2 ft. 8 in. to the table-top, the north door being 10 in. above this level.

The reconstruction of the chapel has been achieved through the efforts and liberal donations of Mr. Spry, of Witherdon, the owner of the land, aided by subscriptions from Mr. Baring-Gould and others interested. It has been most carefully carried out, and accurately, according to the light thrown on the structure by the discoveries of the original remains, of which as much as could be utilised has been incorporated in the restored building. It is now a most interesting specimen, but its early history remains chiefly a matter of conjecture. No doubt it was, in the first instance, erected to perpetuate the remembrance of St. Clether's oratory and wells. It was attached to the mansion of Lower Basil, the ancient residence of the Trevelyan family, but evidently not as a private chapel; for it stands no nearer to the mansion than does the Parish Church, whereas a private chapel would be within, or at least immediately adjacent to, the dwelling-house.

That this chapel, however, was used for more than baptisms must be considered as certain, because the stone altar proves that the service of the Mass was performed there. Doubtless the upper well, the discovery of which tradition ascribes to St. Clether, was the occasion of the chapel being raised there, and the building evidently was placed in such a position that the drain-pipe should pass through the east wall, beneath the altar, and out into

the lower well at the south-east corner. Here I cannot do better than quote the words of Mr. Baring-Gould on the subject. He says :

“My theory of the recess and second well is this : the bones of the Saint were inserted in the recess, and the people seeking a cure drank out of the lower well the water thus sanctified. We know from the ‘Life of St. Patrick’ that this was done in Ireland, and we know it was done in mediæval Brittany. We know that water out of the skull of St. Tido was drunk as a cure for epilepsy, till quite recently in Pembrokeshire.”

It appears as though the recess at the south end of the altar was intended for such a use. It has a cut stone lintel and jambs, with rebates for a door : the stone support of the altar has been set back, so that a person stooping might insert or take away some object or article placed there ; and such importance was assigned to the recess that a door was required, while it was built so that it was in direct communication with the water of the upper well. The idea may have been taken from the description of the Holy Waters in Ezekiel, chap. xlvii, v. 1 and 2 :—

“Afterward he brought me again unto the door of the house ; and behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward : . . . and the waters came down from under from the right side of the house, at the south side of the altar. Then he brought me . . . unto the utter gate by the way that looketh eastward ; and behold, there ran out waters on the right side.”<sup>1</sup>

To sum up, the oratory and chapel may be described as a building measuring internally 19 ft. 1 in. by 11 ft. 4 in., running east and west, having one door to the north and another to the west. The holy well is placed 7 ft. from the north-east angle of the chapel, and the water was, and is again, conducted by a channel under the floor to the altar, beneath which it bubbles up, falling over a sill at the south-east end into a small second holy well, to which access was obtained from outside the chapel. The upper well is not square with the chapel, which appears to have been placed where it is so that a straight drain might run beneath the east wall.

<sup>1</sup> See also verse 9 : “Everything shall live whither the river cometh.”



## ARBROATH ABBEY.

By C. H. COMPTON, Esq., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(Read December 21st, 1905.)



In the month of June, 1904, a statement appeared in the Press that an offer had been made by H. M. Office of Works to take over the portions of Arbroath Abbey which were then in the hands of the local authorities. The history of this Abbey enters so frequently into the records of Scotland and England, from its foundation in the twelfth century to its suppression at the time of the Scottish Reformation, that no apology is needed for offering a sketch of that history.

Aberbrothock, or (as it is now usually called) Arbroath, is the name given to a town situate at the estuary of a stream called the Brothick,<sup>1</sup> a royal borough of great but unknown antiquity, chiefly celebrated on account of its monastery, which will engage our exclusive attention. It was founded by King William, surnamed "the Lion," in A.D. 1178, and dedicated by him to St. Thomas à Becket, with whom, says the metrical version of Boece's "Chronicle,"

"Before into his life had he  
Quentance and great familiaritie."

<sup>1</sup> Formerly Brothac, stated to signify a red, muddy stream. It has been written by Spottiswood in his list of Religious Houses, and by others in the form of Brothe. — D. Miller, *Arbroath and its Abbey*, 1860.

David I, before his accession to the throne of Scotland in 1124, brought the Tyronensian monks to Selkirk, and then removed them to Roxburgh. After he became king he founded the Abbey of Kelso for them in 1128. Reginald, formerly a monk of Kelso, was first Abbot of Arbroath. By a deed dated in 1178, John, the Abbot, and the Convent of Kelso, relieved him from all subjection and obedience, as elected Abbot of the Church of St. Thomas at Arbroath, and declared that the Abbots of Kelso should never claim any authority over the Convent of Arbroath.<sup>1</sup>

By the charter of the Abbey's foundation, given in full by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*,<sup>2</sup> King William, for his love to God and for the health of his soul, and the health of the souls of his ancestors and successors, gave, granted, and confirmed to God and the church which he had founded in honour of God and St. Thomas, Archbishop and Martyr, at Aberbrothicke, and the monks of the same serving God and St. Thomas, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, Aberbrothoc "cum tota schyra sua," and the church of the same town (*sc.* Aberbrothoc), with full tithes and all other appurtenances, with licence and liberty of making a town or borough (*burgus*),<sup>3</sup> and holding a market on every Saturday in the same land. He also granted to all the burgesses freedom from all duty on imports and customary exaction throughout his whole land, and through all ports of his land, for all merchandise which they should buy or sell. The king then grants divers other lands and churches, the latter numbering twenty-four in all, including the Church of Haucwy-litle in Tyndale, of which more will be said hereafter.

The charter was attested by Alexander, the king's son, Henry, Abbot of Kalkow (Kelso), William de Bosco, Chancellor; Philippe de Valon, Camerarius, Johannes de

<sup>1</sup> D. Miller, *Arbroath and its Abbey*, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vi, p. 1152.

<sup>3</sup> By the end of the twelfth century "Burg" had lost its original meaning.

Maxuswell, Robertus capellanus domini regis ; Robertus de St. Germans et Gilbertus de Strewelyne, clerici domini regis ; magister Martinus et magister Radulphus, medici ; Jordan Cumayne, and Walter Cumayne. Apud Selkirke, 25 die Februarii. There is no date of the year, but no doubt it was 1178.

King William then sent John, Bishop of St. Andrew's, and Reginald, the first Abbot of Arbroath, as ambassadors to Pope Alexander III for confirmation of the charter, and the Pope, says Boece, received them "with all humanitie." The Abbey church and conventual buildings, begun in 1178, were sufficiently advanced in 1214 (in which year King William died) to receive his tomb, when on December 9th of that year, he was buried before the high altar. "Fourteen days were spent in a national mourning, and the assembled prelates ordered that for a whole year all public plays and feasts should be prohibited. The church was consecrated on May 8th, 1233, and therefore is contemporary with Elgin, Wells, and the south wing of York."<sup>1</sup>

King John of England, in the seventh year of his reign, by a charter dated at Carlisle, February 19th, 1206, on the petition of William, King of Scotland, granted to the Abbot and monks of Arbroath (Abbeterbrodioc) that they might sell and buy for their own use through his whole land, free, "a teloniis et consuetudine," saving the liberty of the City of London ; and King Henry III confirmed this charter by an Inspeximus in the forty-fifth year of his reign (1361). In *The Beauties of Scotland*, Oxford is referred to in the saving of the liberty of London ; but Oxford is not mentioned either in the charter of John or in the Inspeximus of Henry, nor by Dugdale in the account of the Abbey in the *Monasticon*.

The Abbey was built with red stone found in the neighbourhood. The church was cruciform, and in the Transitional style of architecture from Norman to Early-English. The buildings were all enclosed by a strong

<sup>1</sup> Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*, 1874, p. 251.

wall, the site forming an irregular figure. On the north side of the area, and almost in the middle between the two corners, stood the Abbey church, which was divided, west of the transept, into a nave and two aisles. The measurements of the church are as follows :—

Total length (interior)	.	.	.	270 ft.
Total breadth, ditto	.	.	.	68 ft.
Length of nave	.	.	.	148 ft.
Breadth of nave (excluding aisles)	.	.	.	35 ft.
Length of choir	.	.	.	76½ ft.
Length of transept (north to south)	.	.	.	132 ft.

The height of the side walls, as appears from the mark of the roof on the ruins, was about 67 ft. The remains consist of the vestry, the south transept, part of the choir, the south wall of the nave, part of the western towers, the gateway, part of the conventual buildings, and the Abbot's house.

From the exposed situation of the monastery on the shore of the German Ocean, as from the unsettled state of the Government during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, Arbroath was exposed to the vicissitudes of the wars with England, as well as internal feuds. Fordun relates that, in the deadly year 1272, on Saturday of the octave of the Epiphany, about midnight, during a violent storm from the north, the tower of the church was struck by lightning and burnt, and the bells partly broken and partly melted. A century later (1380), the Abbey church again suffered from lightning, ascribed by the Diocesan to the devil. The wreck was so complete that the monks were distributed among other religious houses, until their own church should be repaired in the roof of its choir, nave, and transept. Vigorous measures were taken for levying funds for these repairs : the Abbot and monks were placed on short commons, and each monk was to be content with twelve marks yearly for food and clothing. The contract with the plumber (dated February 16th, 1394), fortunately preserved, for "theiking the mekel quer with lede," favours (says Gor-

don) the supposition that the injury was partial, and that the fire had consumed only the woodwork of the roof of the choir.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1350, the Bishop of St. Andrew's recorded that the Church had suffered irreparable injury from continued onslaughts of the English shipping; and the dispute between the Lindsays and Ogilvies for a "meane Bailiare" of Arbroath, which pertained to Alexander Lindsay but was usurped by Alexander Ogilvie—whether of his own ambition or by the Abbot's pleasure, it is not certain—culminated in the winter of 1445 in open hostilities on the 23rd of January, when "the Earl of Huntlie and the Ogilvies with him on the ta part and the Earl of Crauford on the t'other part met at the yettis of Arbroath on ane Sondag laite and faucht, and the Erill of Huntley and Wat Ogilvie fled and there was slain, and Schir John Oliphant, lard of Aberdalghay, with others sundry. And on the other part the Erill of Crauford himself was hurt in the field and deit within viii days. But he and his son won the field and held it, and after that a gret time held the Ogilbys at great subjeccioun."<sup>2</sup> "It is said," adds Gordon, "the Abbey church was again burnt on this occasion, and not improbably."

About the year 1240, litigation arose between William de Ros and the Abbot of Abbirbrothie concerning the advowson of the Church of Hautwisel,<sup>3</sup> which, under the name of Haucwy-tle, had been included by King William in his foundation charter. On December 25th

<sup>1</sup> Gordon's *Scottish Monasteries*; vol. iii of his *Chronicle*, p. 501. See also Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon, vol. iii, pp. 506-8. In the Appendix to the *Second Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. 187, dealing with the papers of the Earl of Airlie at Cortachy Castle, is a notice of numerous commissions to the Ogilvys of Airlie as Baillies of the Royalty of Arbroath, granted by the Abbots in their favour, the first of which is dated November 26th, 1485, No. 1337, and of a volume containing the proceedings of the Regality Court of Arbroath. It would seem, therefore, that notwithstanding the "great subjeccioun" referred to, the Ogilvys subsequently recovered possession of the Baliare.

<sup>3</sup> Now Haltwhistle, in South Tynedale, fourteen miles west of Hexham.



in that year, Roger Bertram, Odinell de Fordhe, Henry de Nekerton, and William de Dera, were appointed justices on an assize concerning the advowson, to be held at Carlisle in the Quinzaine of St. Hilary, which William de Ros arraigned against the Abbot; and on March 26th, 1304, Edward I instructed his Chancellor, Master William de Grenefeld, commanding letters under the Great Seal to be issued to the Bishop of Durham, to restore to the Abbot and Convent of Aberbrothok the church of Hautwysel, which they had held *in proprios usus* long before the Scottish war began. In the year 1305, the Abbot and Convent petitioned Edward I for relief from their disseisin by John de Baliol of their lands and woods in a place called Moillectre, in the County of Forfar. The king responded, "Let them sue before the Lieutenant in Scotland."<sup>1</sup>

On January 9th, 1306-7, the Prior and Convent of Lanercost beg the king, having regard to the reduced state of their house, and the damages they had suffered by the king and his attendants,<sup>2</sup> which a great sum would not suffice to restore without perpetuity of something, that in recompense of these damages he would grant them the church of Hautwyselle, which is not worth more than 100 marks a year, and make allowance to the monks of Aberbrothock in Scotland, whose it is, if agreeable to the king and his council.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after, "the Abbot of Aberbrothok, for himself and his Convent, replies (as commanded) to the king and council, respecting their church of Hautwyselles, that the king is fundour of their house, and they have no other head to maintain their rights than him and his council. Begs the king to examine their muniments and confirmation of said church from Rome, and then to command restitution of the church, of which they have been forcibly despoiled by the Bishop of Durham; and that it would please him to ordain the advancement of

<sup>1</sup> St. Andrew's Privy Seals, Tower, 32 Edward I, File 3.

<sup>2</sup> Edward spent the whole of that winter at Lanercost.

<sup>3</sup> Tower Miscellaneous Rolls, No.  $\frac{\text{RTO } 459}{37}$ .

their house in some equally certain and profitable manner, by confirmation of the Pope. They will be ever ready to obey the king's orders for their benefit, for the Abbot is sworn to maintain and not diminish the rights and goods of the house."<sup>1</sup>

This reply is endorsed "Ponatur inter dormientes," which may be translated "Pigeon-holed."

Edward I died in 1307, and Edward II in the latter part of that year, being about to set out for Boulogne, sent letters to the Abbot of Arbroath and the rest of the clergy of Scotland, to keep the peace in that realm;<sup>2</sup> and in the fourth year of his reign he by letters-patent granted protection to John, Abbot of Arbroath, parson of the church of Hautwysel, his manor and possessions, so long as he adhered to the king.<sup>3</sup>

On March 7th, 1329 (3 Edward III), an inquisition (by virtue of a writ tested at New Sarum the 30th of October preceding) was taken at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on Tuesday next before Ash Wednesday, before William de Denurn, Richard de Ermelden, and Robert de Tughales (Robert Dyghton, parson of Hawtwysel, being also present), by Warrin de Swethop, John Grey of Wallington, and ten others, jurors, who found that John, Abbot of Abberbrothok, predecessor of the present Abbot, held Hautwysel church in *proprios usus*, as did likewise his predecessors, the Abbots of the same, from time beyond memory, by gift of William, King of Scotland, or bull of Pope Alexander, and a grant of Robert de Insula, Bishop of Durham, and confirmation of the Chapter of Durham; that the late king presented the said Robert de Dyghton, who was installed parson in the 13th year of his reign during the war with the Scots, and still holds the living.<sup>4</sup>

In the same year the king sent from Canterbury two

<sup>1</sup> Tower Miscellaneous Rolls, No.  $\frac{459}{88}$ .

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Scot. Documents*, ed. by Bain, vol. ii, No. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Pat.*, 4 Edward II, p. 1, m. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Inq. ad quod damnum*, 2 Edward III, No. 11.

letters from Sir Robert de Brus, "Roi Descoce," to the council, commanding them to consider them and do what was expedient.

(*Enclosures*).—The King of Scotland reminds Edward of his former request on behalf of the Abbot of Aberbrothoc for restoration of Hautwisille Church, to which he had promised to give a final answer at London in three weeks after last Easter. Begs him earnestly, for veneration of St. Thomas of Canterbury, in whose honour his ancestors, Kings of Scotland, founded the monastery and endowed it with this church, and considering that he himself has restored, and daily is restoring, their benefices to English churches, to satisfy the present incumbent otherwise, and give back the church. Given at Cardros, May 3rd.

On May 25th, the king, by virtue of the late treaty, restored to the Abbot and Convent of Aberbrothoc the church of Hautwysel, in the Diocese of Durham, "which they have held *in proprios usus* beyond memory, until taken from them by the king."

Robert Bruce resided at the Abbey in the autumn of 1317. Pope John XXII, after the Battle of Bannockburn, sent two Cardinals to England, with a Bull commanding a truce for two years, under pain of excommunication of Bruce, or whoever should disobey it. They despatched two messengers to Bruce, who, according to Spottiswood, gave them audience at Arbreath, and allowed the Pope's open letters, recommending peace, to be read in his presence, with all due respect; but when the sealed letters addressed to "Robert Bruce governing in Scotland" were presented, Bruce replied: "Among my barons there are many named Robert Bruce, who share in the Government of Scotland. These letters may possibly be addressed to them; but they are not addressed to me, who am King of Scotland. I can receive no letters which are not addressed to me under that title." And Bruce withheld his consent to the enjoined truce so long as the Pope and his legates, under English influence, withheld from him the title of king. And it was here that Bruce

convened, in 1320, a Parliament of the nobility of Scotland, in which they framed their remonstrance to Pope John, on account of the hardship which Scotland lay under from the anathemas of his Holiness.<sup>1</sup>

John Gedy built Arbroath harbour in 1394, and repaired the Minster after a fire in 1380. He was the first of the mitred Abbots, having received that dignity from Pope Benedict XIII on July 6th, 1396. In 1394 the burgesses of Arbroath entered into an agreement with Gedy, by which he and his successors were bound to maintain a sufficient harbour at their own expense.

On May 10th, 1434 (12 Henry VI), a warrant was granted for safe conduct for eight months for Walter, Abbot of Arbroath, with ten attendants—Scotsmen—to pass by Calais to the General Council at Basle;<sup>2</sup> and on November 28th, 1448, a warrant was granted for the safe conduct of Malcolm Brydy, Abbot of Arbrothok, and others, with their servants to the number of eighty, passing through the king's dominions to France, Brittany, Flanders, Picardy, and back to Scotland at their pleasure; and it was provided that if any fell sick, the conduct was to be enlarged till a month after convalescence.<sup>3</sup>

In 1523, David Beatoun succeeded his uncle, James Beatoun, as Abbot of Arbroath, on the translation of the latter to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. On December 28th, 1538, he was elevated to the dignity of Cardinal by Pope Paul III, and on his uncle's death in 1539, he succeeded him as Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland, which office he held with the Abbacy of Arbroath, and he was also appointed *legatus a latere* in Scotland. He was chiefly distinguished by his persecution of the Reformers, culminating in the murder of Wishart, and his opposition to a friendly connection with Henry VIII.

On April 17th, 1544, the Lords of the English Council

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 1151.

<sup>2</sup> Westminster Privy Seals, Tower, Henry VI, File 4.

<sup>3</sup> Westminster Privy Seals, Tower, 8 Edward IV, File 6.

reported to King Henry VIII that Wishart, among other enterprises, undertook that a body of troops, to be paid by the English King, joining with the power of the Earl Marshal, the Master of Rothes, the Laird of Calder, and other of Lord Grey's friends, would take upon them to destroy the Abbey and town of Arbroath, being the Cardinal's, and all other Bishops' and Abbots' houses and countries on that side the water thereabouts. King Henry, who was very wroth against the Cardinal, gave them every encouragement "effectually to burn and destroy."<sup>1</sup> This enterprise does not appear to have been carried out; and Wishart's subsequent capture by the Earl of Bothwell, his trial at St. Andrews, and his death by burning at the stake on March 1st, 1546, no doubt frustrated his intentions.<sup>2</sup>

Queen Mary of Scotland succeeded James V in 1540, and the Abbot and Convent appear in connection with the vicissitudes of her troubled reign. On December 2nd, 1565, she issued a warrant to Matthew, Earl of Lennox, Chamberlain of the Abbey of Arbroath, to desist from uplifting the rents, duties, etc., of the said Abbacy, until they received Her Majesty's further commands.<sup>3</sup>

On July 14th, 1567, when Queen Mary surrendered to the confederate Lords, on her abandonment of Bothwell, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's and the Abbot of Arbroath wrote to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, assuring him of their own desire, and that of the most part of the nobility, to relieve their sovereign, to assist in the punishment of the late murderers (of Darnley), and for the preservation of the prince; to whom Sir Nicholas replied that he would not fail to advertise the Queen of England of their honourable dispositions and resolutions. On August 14th following, the Archbishop, Abbot, and others write to Sir Nicholas, professing their willingness

<sup>1</sup> Gordon, *ubi supr.*

<sup>2</sup> The identity of the Wishart mentioned by the English Council with the Wishart put to death by Beatoun has been a matter of much controversy.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Third Report, Appendix, p. 394 —Duke of Montrose Collection.

to seek their sovereign's liberty. They beg the Queen of England to continue her good mind towards her, and request to hear from her on the subject. Sir Nicholas replied to this letter that he would signify the contents of their letter unto the queen, his sovereign, and informed them that Her Majesty had been pleased to continue him there to wait the issue of the Lords' proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

On November 10th, 1568, Sir Francis Knollys wrote to Sir William Cecil: "The Queen of Scotts charges him with having reported that she had caused the Abbot of Arbroath to raise men for her escape;" and the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herys wrote to the queen, informing her of a report sent to the Court by Lord Scrope and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain that the Abbot of Arbroath had taken up three hundred soldiers to convey her from Bolton, and of their reply to the same. In the following month of December, Queen Mary writes to the Abbot of Arbroath, and the rest of her faction, that her rebels were confounded at the convention at York; she complains of false promises of Queen Elizabeth, and that her son was to be delivered up into England, and other conditions made between her and Murray.<sup>2</sup>

Letters of gift by way of signature were issued by King James VI, (*circa* 1579), whereby, on the narrative that Esme Stewart, Lord Obeynie (Aubigny) had, on account of the affection he bore to His Majesty's person, honour, and realm, endangered his life, and left his wife and family behind in France, that he might pay a visit to His Majesty and attend upon his service, he, with the advice of his Privy Council, ordains that a letter of gift be made under his Great Seal, in favour of the said Esme Stewart, of the benefice and abbacy of Arbroath, and of all lordships, baronies, teinds, mills, fishings, and other whatsoever belonging thereto, during his lifetime.<sup>3</sup>

The revenues of the Abbey were reckoned (says Dug-

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers (Scotland)*, vol. i, p. 252. Sir Nicholas was at the time in Scotland on a special mission from Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup> Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers (Scotland)*, vol. ii, p. 863.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Third Report, Appendix, p. 394.

dale) in the year 1562 at 2,553 pounds Scots, besides the vast contributions of corn from the tenants, who paid their rents in kind. The ordinance for the yearly provision of the house in 1530, comprised 800 wethers, 180 oxen, 11 barrels of salmon, 1,200 dried codfish, 82 chalders of malt, 30 of wheat, and 40 of meal; all which was in addition to the produce of their lands, or what their tenants brought in. The number of the monks did not exceed twenty-five; but the ordinance informs us that the appointments of that year exceeded those of 1528, notwithstanding the king had been there twice, and the archbishop thrice, in the last-mentioned year.<sup>1</sup>

The Abbey maintained hostilages at Stirling, Dunnichan, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Edinburgh, and had a hospital, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, at Spitalfield, one mile from Arbroath, in St. Vigean's parish. The chapel was consecrated by George de Brana, Bishop of Dromore, on August 23rd, 1485, and the place was used as the sick-house of the monks.<sup>2</sup>

Although it has been stated that the Reformation in Scotland was established in 1560, that being the year when Knox, under the commission issued by the Scottish Parliament, drew up a Confession of Faith, and the practice of the old religion had been declared to be illegal, the framework of the old church remained almost entire; most of the abbeys had been wrecked, most of the cathedrals defaced, and all the parish churches purged of their images; but otherwise the face of things remained much as before. This led to the Concordat of Leith, concluded between the Church and State on February 1st, 1572, according to which Archbishops and Bishops, Abbots and Priors, were to be continued as parts of the Spiritual Estate, but with restricted powers, and subject to the jurisdiction of the General Assembly. It was not until 1587 that the Act of Annexation was passed, which attached the temporalities of all benefices to the Crown.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Walcott's *Scottish Monasteries*, one vol., 4to., 1874, p. 409.

The teinds still remained sacred, but the lands were secularised.<sup>1</sup>

This Act provided, amongst other things, that "John Lord Hamilton, Commendator of the Abbacie of Aberbrothock, sall bruik the fruits of the said Abbacie during his lifetime in the same manuer as he did before, except the profits of the lands of Craquhy and Milne, and the lands of Tullois and Corstoun," for which he was to be recompensed. Lord John was created first Marquis of Hamilton on April 17th, 1599, and resigned the Abbey into the hands of the king, who confirmed the same to his eldest son, James Hamilton, reserving his father's right to the profits during his lifetime. This last Abbot of Arbroath died on April 12th, 1604, aged seventy-one.

His son James, thus second Marquis of Hamilton, procured a charter of the Abbey in 1600; and the king and Parliament, on July 6th, 1606, dissolved the lands, patronages, and teinds of the Abbey from the Crown, and erected them into a temporal lordship in his favour, with the dignity and title of a lay lord of Parliament, but divested of the privileges of regality. This statute declares that the Parliament "has suppressit and extinguischt the memorie of the said Abbacie of Aberbrothok, that thair sall be na successor provydit thairto, nor na farder mentioun maid of the same in ony time hereafter."

This was the death-knell of the Abbey as a religious foundation; but an institution which played so great a part in the history of both Scotland and England cannot die. It is a source of congratulation that H. M. Commissioners of Works and Public Buildings have cast the ægis of their protection over its ruined walls, and hearty thanks are due to them for rescuing such an interesting memorial of the past from oblivion.

<sup>1</sup> "The Scottish Church from Earliest Times to 1881" (St. Giles's Lectures): Lecture 6, by the Rev. John Cunningham.



## NOTE.

Haltwhistle Church, the advowson of which belonged to Arbroath Abbey, is itself an interesting structure, archæologically. The following account of it is given by a well-known Northumbrian writer:—

“The Church, dedicated to the Holy Cross, is situated on the south side of the town. The oldest part of the building is the chancel, erected in the twelfth century. A fine triplet is noticeable here. The nave belongs to the thirteenth century. The shafts and piers of the arcade are Early English in their character, while the capitals exhibit the incoming of the Decorated style. In the south wall of the chancel is a fifteenth-century low side window. The chancel contains a recumbent effigy of a member of the Blenkinsopp family, probably of the fourteenth century. There is also a tombstone bearing the arms of this family, and ornamented with a beautiful flowered crosier, a broken-hilted sword, and a staff and scrip, indicating that the person buried beneath had visited the Holy Land. Standing against the south wall of the chancel is the tombstone, 6 ft. long, of John Ridley, of Walltown, brother of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London; bearing, between two shields, a rhyming inscription, which runs thus:—

“‘IHON REDLE | THAT SVM | TIM DID BE | THEN: LARD OF THE  
WALTON GON IS HE OVT OF THE VAL OF MESSE | HIS BONS LIES  
VNDER THES STON; AL FRENDES MAY BE GLAD TO HAER | WHEN  
HES SOVL FROM PARN DID GO | OVT OF THES WORLD AS DOETH  
APPER | IN THE YEER OF OVR LORD | A. 1562.’”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Comprehensive Guide to the County of Northumberland.* By W. W. Tomlinson, 1888, p. 168.





## THE ROMAN CHANNEL FLEET.

WITH NOTES ON THE ROMAN STATION CLAUSENTUM.

By EMANUEL GREEN, Esq., F.S.A.

(Read November 15th, 1905.)



THE Roman Emperor Claudius, on hearing of the successful invasion of Britain by his agents, Cnaeus and Aulus Plautius, "illustrious and noble men," determined to come over and see, and perhaps gain some personal credit, for himself. Starting from Rome, he passed to Ostia, and there took ship for Marseilles, following the coast all the way, yet narrowly escaping wreck on the shores of Liguria, between Genoa and Nice. From Marseilles he marched by land, says one account, to Gessoriacum (Boulogne), and then passed over into Britain.<sup>1</sup> Another account says, perhaps more reasonably; that he came partly by land and partly by rivers, and so arrived at the ocean.<sup>2</sup> While certainly some idea is given as to how he did come, which is very interesting in itself, showing the galleys hugging the shore all the way and avoiding the sea, the little difference in the stories shows the difficulty of getting exactness when examining these very scanty accounts.

For the large force—probably over twenty thousand men—which was landed in Britain, more than one camp would be necessary, as well as several shelters, or harbours, for the many vessels. First, then, it is found that a line of ports was secured, extending along our coast from Richborough (Rutupiæ), near the Thames, westward to Clausentum (Bittern, by Southampton). Then the plan of campaign was further developed, as a line of camps

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *Claudius*, xvii.  
1906

<sup>2</sup> Dion Cassius, lx, p. 677.

and stations was established across the interior, thus enclosing the rich western district : that district which will now claim especial notice.

Claudius, by his visit, gained his desired end, and got fully the praise for success so beloved by the Roman general. His return was a naval triumph. A ship "like a vast palace" bore him homeward,<sup>1</sup> and he received as reward a heavy coronet of gold.<sup>2</sup> An inscription from Kyzikos refers to him<sup>3</sup> as—

P(ater P(atriæ) VIND(ex)  
LIB(ertatis) DEVI(ctor)  
BRIT(anniæ)

Eight epigrams in the *Codex Vossianus*, not hitherto noticed, refer to him and his supposed exploits in Britain.<sup>4</sup> They are here copied exactly as met with. As the original manuscript was difficult or illegible, faults must be excused.

LAUS CÆSARIS.

419.

Ausoniis numquam tellus violata triumphis,  
Icta tuo, Cæsar, fulmine procubuit.  
Oceanusque tuas ultra se respicit aras :  
Qui finis mundo est, non erat imperio.

420.

Victa prius nullo jamjam spectata triumpho,  
Inlibata tuos gens patet (jacet) in titulos.  
Fabula visa diu medioque recondita ponto  
Libera victori quam cito colla dedit !

422.

Euphrates ortus, Rhenus secluserat Arctos :  
Oceanus medium venit in imperium.  
Libera non hostem, non passa Britannia regem  
Externum, (aeternum) nostro quæ procul orbe jacet,  
Felix adversis et sorte oppressa secunda,  
Communis nobis et tibi Cæsar erit !

423.

Ultima cingebat Thybris tua, Romule, regna :  
Hic tibi finis erat, religiose Numa.  
Et tua, Dive, tuo sacrata potentia cælo  
Extremum citra constitit Oceanum.  
At nunc Oceanus geminos interluit orbes ;  
Pars est imperii, terminus ante fuit.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxiii, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Hübner, *Corp. Inscr.*, Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Riese, *Anthologia*, 1 S., p. 272.

424.

Mars pater et nostræ gentis tutela Quirine,  
 Et magno positus Cæsar uterque polo,  
 Cernitis ignotos Latia sub lege Britannos :  
 Sol citra nostrum flectitur imperium.  
 Ultima cesserunt adaperto claustra profundo,  
 Et jam Romano cingimur Oceano.

425.

Opponis frustra rapidum, Germania, Rhenum ;  
 Euphrates prodest nil tibi, Parthe fugax ;  
 Oceanus jam terga dedit, nec pervius ulli  
 Cæsareos fasces imperiumque tulit :  
 Illa procul nostro semota exclusaque cælo  
 Alluitur nostra victa Britannis aqua.

426.

Semota et vasto disjuncta Britannia ponto,  
 Cinctaque inaccessis horrida litoribus,  
 Quam pater invictis Nereus velaverat undis,  
 Quam fallax aestu circuit Oceanus,  
 Brumalem sortita polum, qua frigida semper  
 Præfulget stellis Arctos inocciduis,  
 Conspectu devicta tuo, Germanice Cæsar,  
 Subdidit insueto colla premenda iugo.  
 Aspice, confundat populos ut pervia Tethys :  
 Conjunctum est quod adhuc orbis et orbis erat,

The great result of this visit was the establishment of a fleet to guard the narrow seas : the establishment, in fact, of a Roman Channel Squadron. "The last bars have fallen," sang a poet ;<sup>1</sup> "the earth is girdled by a Roman ocean." From this time all military movements on land were supported, and all communications secured, by this watchful guardian, known as the *Classis Britannica*, the British fleet, guarding the *Fretum Britannicum*, the narrow sea. With all the soldiering and camping, of which so much is heard or read, as relating to these times, this very important fact, which must now be of absorbing interest to all, has been entirely overlooked. So completely has it been passed over, that Smith's *Dictionary of Roman Antiquities* (Third edition) does not even mention it ; yet such a fleet was maintained for nearly four hundred years, and secured the military and trade connections with this island. What can

<sup>1</sup> Burmannos, *Anthol.*, ii., 88.

be found relating to it should have excited interest long ago.

The chief bases in Gaul were Gessoriacum (Boulogne) and Quentavicus (Etaples), and Iccius (Wissant) ; and in Britain, Rutupiae (Richborough), with Dubris (Dover) and Lemanis (Lymne). Evidences are found by inscriptions. At Boulogne there is one in honour of a trierarch, or captain of a trireme, who was a known contemporary of Claudius, and thus helps to confirm the view that the fleet originated with that Emperor.<sup>1</sup> The fleet is mentioned by Tacitus ; and in A.D. 83 it contributed much to the success of Agricola making the circuit of Britain, and thus first determining it to be an island. What a story an account of that voyage would be to-day, with its trials and explorations, its losses and burials in strange places along the coast ! Yet so meagre are these narratives that even the starting-point is not given. At Boulogne, also, several bricks have been found, bearing the stamp CL. BR. At Dover and Lymne have been found tiles bearing this stamp ; and at Lymne has been found a record of a prefect, one Caius Aufidius Pantera. At Boulogne, again, inscriptions on stones found there mention three trierarchs and two soldiers, and a ship named the " Radians," all of the British fleet. One inscription is to Quintus Arenius Verecundus, a trierarch ; another to Valerius Maximus, a trierarch ; and one to Seius Saturninus, an *archigubernator*—chief pilot or sailing-master.<sup>2</sup> A round stamp, an unusual shape, bearing CL. BR., has been found at Boulogne.<sup>3</sup> The name of an oculist to the fleet, one Axis, has also been preserved, and at Amiens is a stone inscribed to one Secundus.<sup>4</sup> An interesting inscription to Beladius, son of Telanus, tells that he was aged forty-five and in his thirty-first year of service, so that he began when about fourteen.<sup>5</sup> Curiously enough, far away at Arles, there is an inscription to one Saturninus, which

<sup>1</sup> Desjardins, *Geog. de la Gaule Romaine*, i, 368.

<sup>2</sup> Panceroli, *Notitia*, etc., p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Vaillant, *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd Ser., vol. xii.

<sup>4</sup> Daremberg, *Dict. of Antiquities*.

<sup>5</sup> Vaillant, *Classis*, etc.





shows the British fleet existing about A.D. 245. It reads :<sup>1</sup>

.... NTIVS SATVRNINVS EX ....  
 . CLASSIS BRITANNICÆ PHI..  
 .... TIONE AFER BIZACINVS O..  
 . VNICIPIO SEPTIMIA LIBE....  
 ..... Y. DRITAVS TE ....

This has been read as : "Sentius Saturninus Exactus Classis Britannicæ Philippianæ natione Afer Bizocensus oriundus municipio Septimia Libera Thyodritanus te . . ."

Besides any interest in the general movements of this squadron, one duty it had to perform was the protection of commerce against the many "pirates" in the northern sea, who not only hindered navigation but were a menace to those on shore.<sup>2</sup> Especially was it a duty to watch the coast towards the Rhine and the Saxon shore. The established Roman forts and castles were all eastward of our Portsmouth. In the year 287, one Carausius, being Admiral of the Fleet, having this duty, seems to have allowed the pirates their chance, connived at their work, and enriched himself by annexing their spoil.<sup>3</sup> His wealth and success produced the usual jealousy, promising his death ; but in anticipation he so managed his business that, being himself a skilled seaman, and having the full confidence of his men, he presently revolted,<sup>4</sup> took away the fleet protecting Gaul, became master of the sea, and, aided by the "pirates" from the Rhine district,<sup>5</sup> seized Boulogne, the chief naval base. Then with his fleet he sailed for Britain, which at the time was thought safe, and so was not strongly guarded. Here he was so well supported that, being able to keep command of the sea, he made himself Emperor about A.D. 287-8.<sup>6</sup>

Preparations were at once made for a re-conquest. The Emperor Maximian marched with an army to the Rhine, but wanting both naval power and seamen, and finding tempestuous weather, he was obliged to abandon his

<sup>1</sup> Ferero, *Inscrizione*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Eutropius, *Brevia*, ix, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Eumenius, *Paneg. Const.*, c, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Eumen., *Const.*, c. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Eutropius, i, 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. of Carausius.*



naval plan,<sup>1</sup> and marched directly for Boulogne. An encounter took place there, of which the only particular to be gathered is that Carausius was beaten and pursued to the sea, where he took ship and escaped.<sup>2</sup> The siege continuing, one Constantius, who had been appointed the Roman Admiral, closed the mouth of the harbour with wood, *fascines*, and large stones,<sup>3</sup> so that succour could not be received by that way. Being thus unable to continue a defence, the place surrendered. But Carausius, determined to try again, made an irruption into Gaul, to succour or secure his own, and now was always victorious. All the attempts to beat him were unsuccessful; so that after several failures, Maximian decided to conclude a peace which left Carausius in possession of Boulogne and of Britain. It has been suggested that it was Constantius who effected a descent in Britain, and being beaten by Carausius was obliged to make a peace, but the conclusion must be that the peace was made with Maximian. Dr. Stukeley, with his determined way of assertion, gives a circumstantial account of a fight which produced this treaty as occurring under the Isle of Wight, off Carisbrook. He gives, too, the date as the 5th of September, A.D. 289, but he gives no references to any authority.<sup>4</sup> Nothing, says the Doctor, "could be more furious than the conflict, a second fight at Actium, but now much more glorious, as the Roman marine was much improved since that time, and Carausius had a peculiar genius therein. Carausius totally overthrew Maximianus' fleet, which he commanded in person."<sup>5</sup> To this he adds: "The Roman writers are dumb on this affair of Maximianus' defeat, by accusing the inclemency of the ocean, and the like."<sup>6</sup> The writers may well be dumb, as there seems to be no evidence of any such event. The Doctor gives also the full text of the treaty "by which Carausius retained Boulogne, and was acknowledged Sovereign of Britain."

Carausius, during his reign, gave constant attention to

<sup>1</sup> Camden.

<sup>2</sup> Mamertin.

<sup>3</sup> Eumen., c. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Medallic Hist. of Carausius*, vol. i, pp. 90, 170.

<sup>5</sup> P. 86.

<sup>6</sup> P. 89.

his navy, constructed ships on the Roman model, and by his persistence and frequent exercising his fleet he inspired his subjects with the same maritime ardour. Britain became a great and independent maritime power. The British fleet remained everywhere triumphant in the Channel, and before the Seine and the Rhine, and along the coast downwards to Spain. None dared stir on these seas for fear of the British fleet. This success brought Carausius the usual flattery, and he was called "King of ships that sittest on the rolling waves." His coins have often thereon a ship or galley, and this has produced a suggestion—an imagination—that it represents the vessel Carausius had constructed for himself, and thus was the greatest ornament of his triumph.<sup>1</sup> So matters were when Carausius was assassinated, A.D. 293-4, by Allectus, who succeeded him. This episode changes the history, and must be well marked to avoid often confusion.

Under Allectus, prosperity and power seem to have ceased, and Britain was plunged in calamities, brigandage, and cruelty. It would seem, too, that the great navy must have been neglected, as it fairly disappeared.

Meantime, preparations in Gaul, lasting three years, had been in progress to re-establish an imperial fleet. When Cæsar came, he had to supply a fighting navy, vessels fitted for war. To meet his necessities, he established shipbuilding about Boulogne, and the same plan was now adopted, but enlarged, and ships were built on all available rivers of Gaul. Some care was taken, according to rules laid down, about the timber used. There was a proper time, and there were proper days, for felling the trees; then there was a time—a year—before the tree was cut up, and a further year for the planks to dry before being used.<sup>2</sup> On occasions of haste or pressure, these rules had to be abandoned, and the timber was used green. The planks were fastened with brass—*i.e.*, bronze—nails, as we should say, copper-fastened. Certain other rules guided these naval affairs. In stormy weather action was impossible. The best sea time was considered as from the end of May to the middle of September.

<sup>1</sup> Genebrier, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Vegetius.

From November to March the seas were "shut up." Favoured by a dry, good time for cutting the trees, a good time for construction, and full rivers to float the galleys down to the coast, a new imperial fleet was completed. Being collected, it seems to have met with no opposition. Boulogne was again besieged, and with the naval stores there re-captured, and the imperial naval supremacy again secured. Next, about A.D. 296, this fleet was organised to recover Britain. One division, under Constantius, assembled at Boulogne, and sailed for the Thames; another division, under his lieutenant, Asclepiodote, assembled at the mouth of the Seine, and was ordered westward.

It was customary to have the fleet always ready, with guardships on the watch day and night, but no action of the British navy has been recorded in connection with this very important event. Boulogne fell, that is all we are told, and Constantius sailed on his course eastward to the Thames without opposition, and it can only be assumed that his enemy was either non-existent or withdrawn. There is thus no record of any effort or attempt against this force, although it passed opposite the Rhine, where the greatest naval strength would have been expected.

There is, however, a short but most interesting episode in connection with the other, or western, division. Allectus, expecting a direct attack, and apparently not relying on his navy, at first took post opposite Boulogne; but hearing of the divided intention, he placed some galleys in ambush about the Isle of Wight, to intercept approach that way, and himself drew back towards London to encounter Constantius, who soon landed at the mouth of the Thames, and was received with such great joy that his march was hindered.<sup>1</sup> By reason of very unfavourable weather, the western division did not start for a few days after Constantius; and it further happened that, just as this division was off the Island, there was so dense a fog that the ships, "happily"—from the Roman point of view—passed unperceived. In the obscurity of the fog,

<sup>1</sup> Eumenius, xv, xvi, xvii.

the Roman ships got separated, but continuing their course were soon in port, where, to show there was to be no retreat, and to prevent the enemy from getting them, the ships were destroyed.

A naval division for such an invasion must have consisted of many vessels, conveying a large force, and the British division of Allectus must have been strong, or it would have been useless for its work. The soldiers were usually closely packed, standing fully armed and armoured, and were expected not to complain, as, having only to be still, they were not fatigued by a march. Yet again, unfortunately, there is no mention of the strength, either in ships or men, of either side.

The force next marched, without opposition, for London, towards Allectus, who, although but weakly supported, hastily attacked, hoping to succeed before Constantius could join, but was defeated and slain.

Where the landing of this western division took place, the one piece of exact information wanted, is not directly given; but as the ships which passed the Isle of Wight were soon in port, and the Ikenild Street, the direct road through Winchester, began at Clausentum, that port must, with fair certainty, have been the objective of this fleet, and so the starting-point for the march.

Clausentum was a much more important place than hitherto supposed. It has been suggested that Claudius landed there.<sup>1</sup> It was also a chief station of Tetricus, and Agricola made it his landing-place on his march to the Severn.<sup>2</sup> With Carausius also it was a favourite port.<sup>3</sup> For a long time its position was undetermined, as the distances given in the *Itinerary* (*Iter. vii*) did not work out a satisfactory result; but, by a slight alteration in the mileage, assuming that an "x" had been omitted, and reading "30" for "20" miles from Chichester, and accepting the ten miles given as from Winchester, it fixes itself as our Bittern at Southampton.

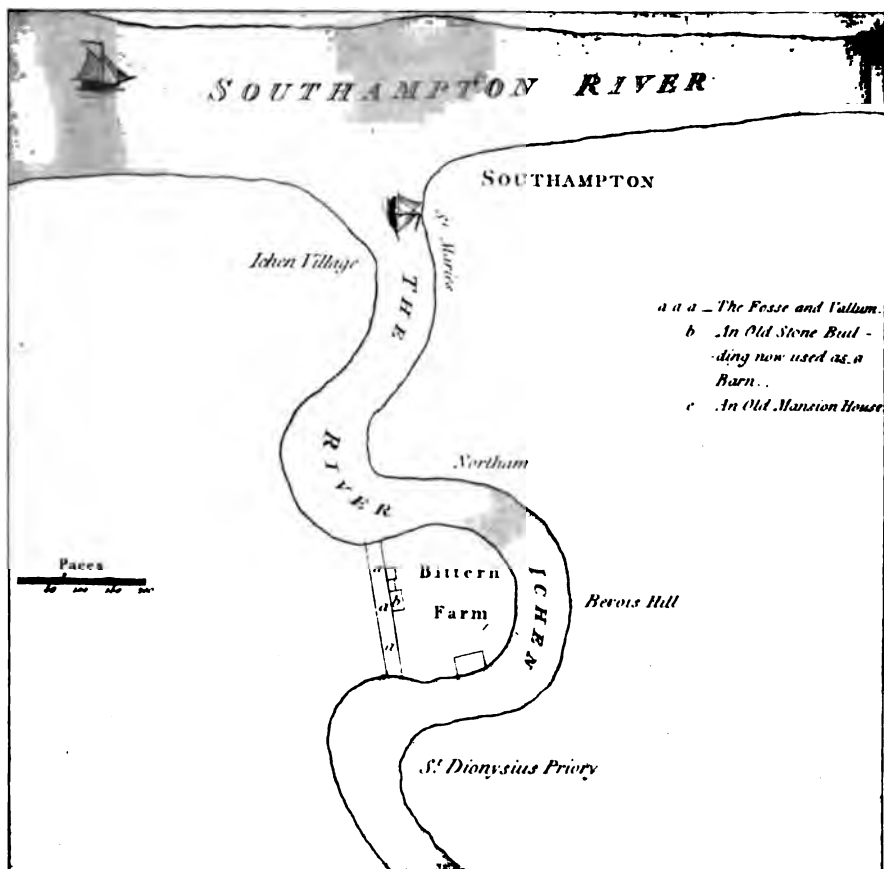
The next point was to have some evidence in proof. The Rev. Richard Warner—a man who did much good

<sup>1</sup> Hübner, *Das Römische Heer in Britannien*. *Hermes*, xvi, 527.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch.*, viii, 93.

topographical work in his time—took the matter up, and made many “finds” by excavating. An illustrated account of his work was published in 1792. Warner found two walls of flint and stone running across the land-surface: the outer wall was about 9 ft. thick, terminating in



Clausentum.

(From Warner.)

round towers of solid masonry. Another semicircular tower was 24 ft. in diameter, its foundation being formed of very large stones. Two plaster floors were found, some Samian ware and some common ware, and a piece of coping was met with, of a character and size which marked it as having belonged to a large building. About 9 ft.

within this outer wall was another wall, only 2 ft. in thickness. Amongst the several "finds" were three dedicatory stones: one to Gordian, one to Gallus, and one to Tetricus.<sup>1</sup> On the opposite, or Southampton, side of the river was another Roman building, since destroyed to make room for docks or warehouses.<sup>2</sup> Coins have been found there, and this spot would mark some outwork of Clausentum.

Since Warner's time, remains have been found of a strong wooden frame or quay work,<sup>3</sup> and it may well be supposed that other "finds" could be made; although, from the large accumulation of mud, some of it solidified, the place has changed somewhat. In making the new bridge over the Itchen, several earthen vases were found,<sup>4</sup> one small pot being full of coins of Allectus: the reverse of these coins was a galley, but there was a difference in every specimen in mast, or oars, or rowers. Remains of Roman pavements were found along the beach,<sup>5</sup> now under water. Altogether, six stones have been found, inscribed to Roman Emperors: one to Gordian the younger, one to Gallus and Volusianus, one to Aurelian, and three to Tetricus.<sup>6</sup> There seems to be no memorial either of Carausius or of Allectus.

Englefield, in a little work—*A Walk through Southampton*, 1801—does not even mention Clausentum; but in his second edition (1805), he adds some notes and illustrations of the "finds," and gives a plate, or plan, of the land. He does not record or illustrate any work or knowledge of his own; but, unfortunately, in his plate he has introduced a distant second *fosse*, or ditch, thus introducing the way to error and untruth. There has been nothing found, or in any way met with, to suggest or connect this depression with antiquity. This sort of thing should not be done. Warner recorded actual work, and has left just bare facts and a bare plan: a record of truth.

<sup>1</sup> Hübner, *Inscr. Brit.*, 1148-50.

<sup>2</sup> Horsley, *Jno.*

<sup>3</sup> Davies, J. S., *Hist. Southampton*.

<sup>4</sup> *Companion Round Southampton*, 1799.

<sup>5</sup> *Hampshire Repository*, vol. i, p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> Wright.

On becoming king, Carausius, like all his kind, quickly exercised his right of coining; and coins bearing his effigy are supposed to have been struck at Clausentum. One such bears the letter c; one has M S C (read as "moneta signata Clausenti"); and another has S P C ("signata pecunia Clausenti").<sup>1</sup> A goodly list of coins bearing these letters could be added.<sup>2</sup> Another writer gives a coin with the legend MONET AUGGG., as representing Moneta, the goddess of Money, since Carausius owed so much of his success to his wealth. In the exergue is the letter c, which (says one) denotes, "in all probability," Clausentum.<sup>3</sup> Another coin attributed to Carausius, given with the boldest confidence and supported by an engraving, seemed at first to confirm these statements or arguments. It has on the reverse the wolf and two boys, and for legend P. M. TR. POT. V. COS. IIII (Pontifex Maximus, tribunicia potestate quintum, Consul quartum), thus marking the beginning of his fifth year, A.D. 294. In the exergue are the letters C L A, says our author,<sup>4</sup> thus helping more emphatically to mark Clausentum. A plate of this coin is given as bearing these letters; but, unfortunately for the writer, he mentions his original as shown in Hearne's *Walter of Hemingford*, and a reference to that work<sup>5</sup> shows all this quotation to be false—one of the many amazing and most unwarrantable assertions by the same writer. The letters in Hearne are given as CEA, and correctly, with the conclusion that they stand for Cæsar. There is no intimation or suggestion about CLA, or Clausentum.

The medalllic history of Carausius is especially interesting, as necessarily his coins can be found only in Britain; but, notwithstanding quotations from or references to reputed authorities, it cannot be accepted that these, or any coins, were minted at Clausentum. There is a field

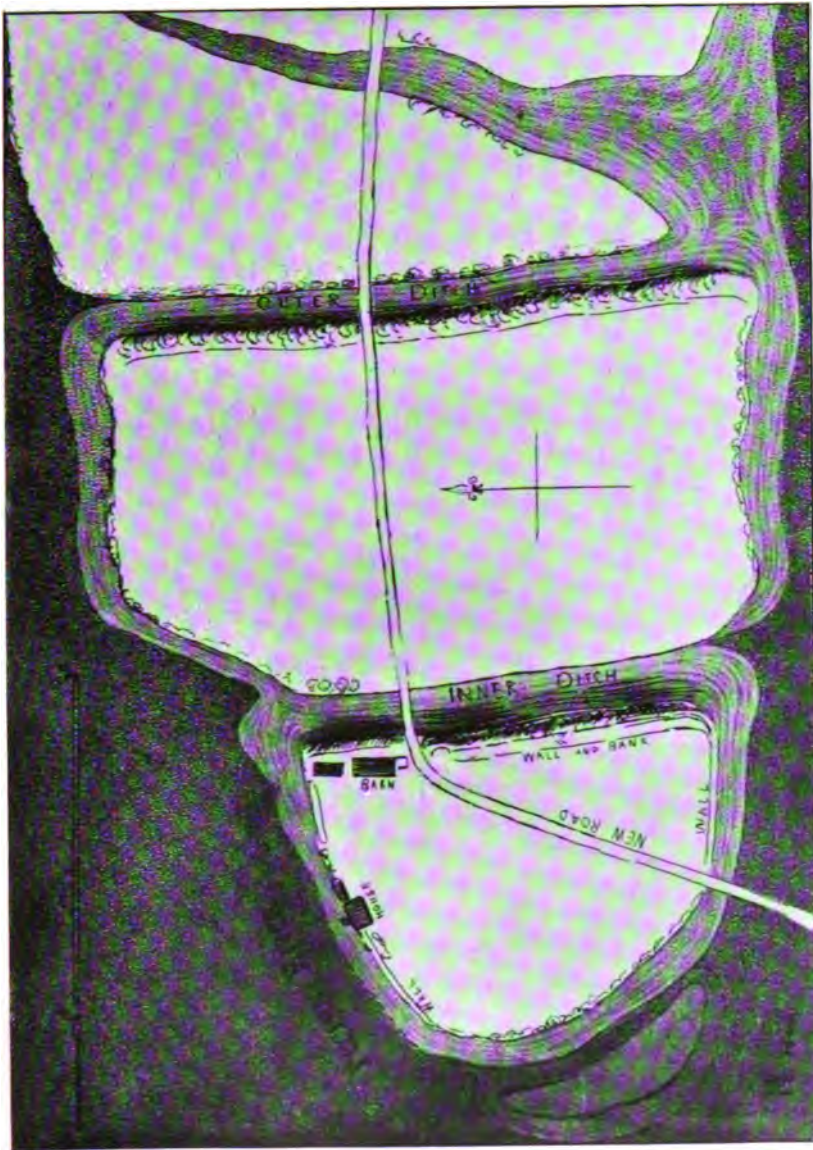
<sup>1</sup> Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*.

<sup>2</sup> Akerman, J. G., *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Stevenson, S. W., *Dict. Roman Coins*, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> Stukeley, W., *Medalllic Hist. of Carausius*, pp. 69, 253; Plate XXIX, No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Preface, p. xlix.



CLAUSENTUM  
(From Englefield.)





there called "the mint," the result of simple imagination. The letter c, when it occurs, must be given to Corinium, our Cirencester, or to Camulodunum.

A strong impression prevailed in these early days that this unknown land of Britain was full of mines and minerals, even of gold and silver; but the chief mineral product actually found was lead, and its working at once became an imperial monopoly. Pliny, writing after Cæsar's time, and when Britain was no longer unknown, says: "In Britannia, lead is found in the upper stratum of the earth in such abundance that working more than a fixed quantity was prohibited." This must surely be the first example of a compulsory limited output. The chief works were on the Mendip Hills, at Charterhouse, in Somerset, where the remains are still large, showing an important settlement, and the works so extensive that the refuse has been found valuable enough to be worked over again in our own time. Investigation on and about Mendip has shown an old roadway leading from these works eastward through Old Sarum, where it joins the main or high road, seen clearly marked to-day, continuing through Hampshire to Winchester, and so to Clausentum. This road has been surveyed by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his *History of Wilts.*<sup>1</sup> Pigs of lead have been found on Mendip and on this road from the mines. One bore the name of Claudius, A.D. 49; and one of about A.D. 60, found at Bossington, in Hampshire, between Old Sarum and Winchester, bore the name of Nero, and was stamped British. These "finds" on this road from the mines mark the traffic going eastward directly to Clausentum; and another pig of British lead bearing Nero's name, found in the harbour of St. Valery, helps to show the direction it took in export. The dates on these "finds" confirm the early working of the mines on Mendip; and the coins found on the site of the works show an occupation to the very last.

Whilst at Dover begins the great North Road—the route of fighting and trouble—at Clausentum begins the Ikenild Street, leading directly to many rich vales and a

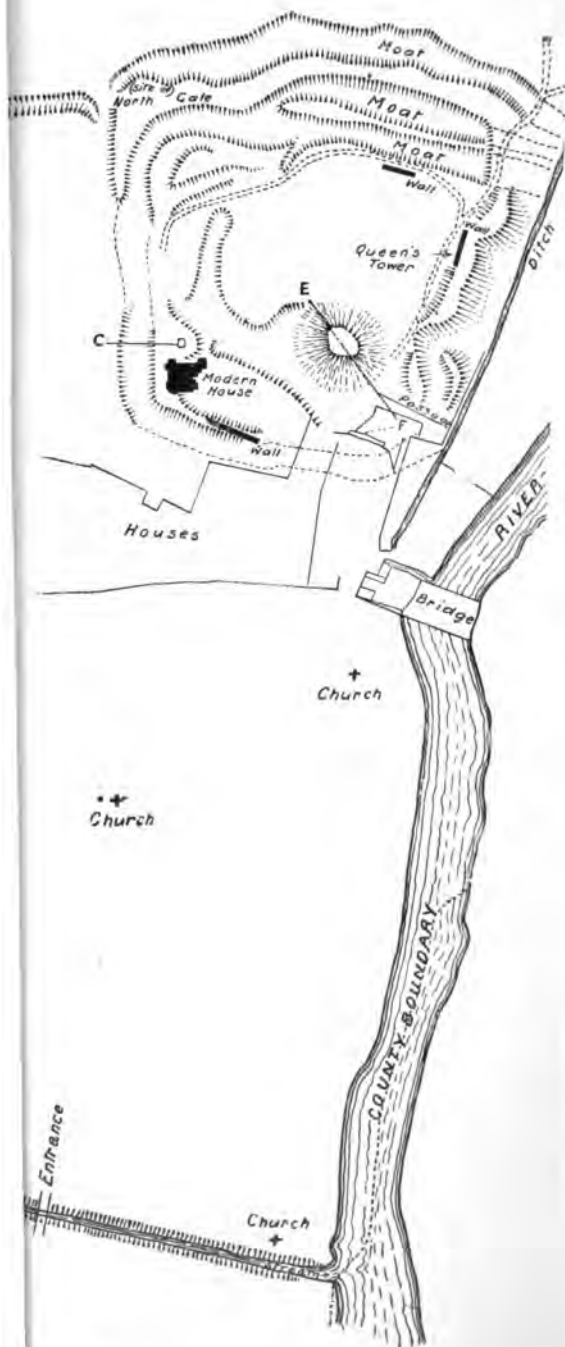
<sup>1</sup> Scarth, *Roman Britain*.

mining district speaking always of peace and prosperity. Thus Clausentum shows no sign of a military character, nor even much of a civilian residential occupation.

Warner, "craving to be allowed to sport for a moment in the wilds of conjecture," suggests the name as derived from *Clausus*, "shut up," and *intus*, "within;" or, in other words, land-locked: a fair description of the situation. Sheltered thus, it seems to have been simply a large, well-placed, protected depôt for the export of western produce. As such it was exactly suited. The voyage to Gaul would be entirely possible and safe, being within the narrow seas, well west of the pirates' haunts, with the guardian fleet intervening. Richard of Ciceter decides this when he tells us that "Towards the ocean the chief port of the Belgæ is Clausentum."







LINGFORD.

*Victoria History of Berkshire.*  
 the Rev. E. A. Downman.



## THE WALLS OF WALLINGFORD.

By I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq., F.S.A.

(Read at the Reading Congress, 1905.)



WAS glad to note that in his inaugural address Mr. Keyser referred to the *vallum* protecting Old Wallingford on the north, south and west, as one of the prehistoric remains of Berkshire.

I have little doubt that it is to the pre-Roman period we must assign this earthwork wall, of which the remains present so imposing an appearance; but it must not be forgotten that some students of ancient defences regard the town wall as coeval with the Castle works, which occupy the north-east corner of the town enclosure, and were constructed within the historic period. Assuming the correctness of my view, it is evident that we have in Wallingford the remains of two separate and distinct schemes of defence: one the town wall for the protection of all inhabiting the good town, the other the Castle works, constructed probably for the advantage of Norman lords, the men who reduced the conquered Saxons to a condition little better than servile.

The earthen town wall demands our first attention, not only on account of priority of age, but also because its remains have excited much conjecture and speculation.

The wall has been variously claimed as Celtic, Roman, and post-Roman. First, let us see what was here, so far as we can tell by that which is left. Looking back to a far distant period, we see a settlement occupying a large area (about 114 acres) surrounded on three sides by a high rampart of earth and a deep moat, the former no

doubt surmounted by a sturdy timber wall or stockade with a raised walk behind it, whereon the defenders could operate. On the eastern side the great river, with its morass, afforded ample protection. The wall of earth and timber was pierced on the western side by a strongly defended passage-way, while on the east was the well-guarded ford over the river.

As much of the town wall is now in the hands of the Corporation, this opportunity may be taken to urge them to preserve from the least mutilation every portion which is in their care; and at the same time an appeal may be made to those private owners who possess other sections to treat with reverence this relic of Britain's past story.

When was this town wall constructed?

Some cling to the theory of Roman origin. They may be correct: I will certainly not dogmatise on my own views, but I can see no evidence that the Imperial invaders of Britain built the wall, and cannot but agree with the late Mr. Hedges, whose large and valuable book shows that he regarded Wallingford as a British fortified town, though "there exists evidence sufficient to show almost to a certainty that in the time of the Romans the town was a place of note, strongly entrenched, and probably a military station."<sup>1</sup> That they occupied the place is certain, for the military exigencies of their advance would necessitate the occupation of so important a ford over the river; but that it was a Roman town, in the sense that Chester, Verulam, Colchester, and some others were, is very doubtful.

Had Wallingford's wall been of Roman origin, we should find traces of its continuation on the fourth or river side of the enclosure.

It was for long thought that the Romans were content with a water guard where such existed on one side of their stations, and we were told of Richborough's three sides and of those of Burgh Castle by Yarmouth; but examinations have proved that, though long lost to sight, the walls of these places once extended on the water side.

At Wallingford such was not the case. I speak with

<sup>1</sup> *History of Wallingford.* By John Kirby Hedges. 1881.

the diffidence of one whose examinations have been somewhat cursory, but venture to say that, at least so far as the northern portion of the river side is concerned, there never was a wall. My impression is that the ford over the river was the cause of a Celtic, pre-Roman settlement on this, the higher bank ; and that, growing in trade and population, the settlement was early defended by a rampart of earth with its moat outside, this moat being filled with water by the stream which flows in from the west. Now its waters run only to the south and east, but there is proof that the current in earlier days was divided to flow north as well as south.<sup>1</sup>

It may be that in the days when Briton fought Briton there were but two ways into the town, the west gate, and the ford way on the east ; but when Roman rule brought order and encouraged trade, gateways were opened on the north and south sides, and the place rendered more accessible for traffic and market.

Some writers claim that the wall was constructed by Romanised Britons after the departure of the Imperial legions. Clark adopts this view,<sup>2</sup> but such origin can neither be proved nor disproved by any yet-recorded evidence.

The main point relied upon in support of this theory is the rectangular form of the enclosure, but rectangular strongholds existed even in the far-away age of bronze, and they were constructed in the subsequent early-iron period ; indeed, there was never a time when people did not make square-shaped, or any other shaped, defences which best suited the position. Nature guided the forms of hundreds of early camps by the contour of the hills and so forth, but here on the levels of the river Nature left man to form the castrametation.

<sup>1</sup> The clever way in which the waters flowing from the west were made to aid the defence of the town is worth noting. Originally the course was straight through the site to the Thames, but at the west side the course was artificially stopped, the waters forced to flow around the ramparts, and the former bed of the stream filled, and subsequently built over.

<sup>2</sup> *Mediæval Military Architecture in England.* By Geo. T. Clark. 1884.



Leaving the prehistoric walls of the town, we pass to those of the later defensive work—the mighty stronghold which occupied over 30 acres in the north-eastern angle of Wallingford. There may still be seen its triple rampart and moats, defences against the open country on the north, and its strong protection against the inhabitants of the town itself: all suggestive of the great change brought to England by the Norman conquerors, whereby it became a question, not of defending an already existing town, as such, but of establishing a feudal lord in safe quarters, whence he could take his share of the work of controlling the Saxon inhabitants of England. As the Rev. J. E. Field tells the history of this Castle, it is unnecessary for me to touch on the important part it played in Norman and later days, and we may pass to the material evidences which remain.

Though many sections of the earthworks have been mutilated to accommodate the site to modern residential purposes, enough exist to show the general scheme.<sup>1</sup> We see that the leading feature was a high, artificial mount,<sup>2</sup> such as we are familiar with throughout England and Normandy, reared not to carry stone structures, but to be surmounted and encircled by wooden defences; strong palisades, or stockades, of timber perhaps wattled and plastered, for newly thrown-up earth cannot carry the weight of masonry.

Surrounding the mount was its deep fosse, or moat;<sup>3</sup> and beyond, on the north, was the principal court, or bailey, with its triple defences and complicated series of banks and ditches: except on the eastern side, where a high rampart, partly natural, overhung the waters of the

<sup>1</sup> It is deeply to be regretted that the modern "Castle Lane" was made, cutting deeply through the heart of the works, and destroying their continuity. Why it was made it is easy to see, but not the less to be lamented.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hedges, excavating the mount, found it to rest on a solid foundation of stone, sloping upwards towards the outside, and forming a saucer-shaped base for the earth.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the fosse, or moat, did not extend round the north base of the mount, though probably it did, but has been filled in for pasturage.





t filled in here in modern days.

VIEW OF WALLINGFORD CASTLE.

Scale, 208 ft. to 1 in.

river, which in early days touched the foot of the steep slope. This large court was doubtless well occupied with buildings, barracks, halls, and stables; while south-west of the mount was a smaller court, still containing some fragments of walls and towers of stone.

Stone succeeded timber in later days, when the long succession of years had solidified the earth of artificial ramparts and mounts, or was used earlier when a natural hard foundation was near the surface, as in some parts of Wallingford Castle.

Even while all else was constructed of earth and timber, the Norman military architect usually inserted a gateway or gatehouse of masonry where he pierced the wall, and threw his drawbridge over the moat. Such a well guarded entrance-way may have been on the west, but if so, it has been swept away by modern alterations. There is some trace of a passage-way to the water side at the south-east angle of the Castle, but all other entrances are modern.

Before concluding, something must be said as to the date of these Castle earthworks. It will have been gathered from my remarks that I look upon the works as appertaining to the Norman period, and I think that much of it was the work of Robert D'Oyley, completed in 1071, while other portions—extensions of the original—we may owe to Plantagenet days.

*Domesday* records the destruction of eight *hagae* (probably meaning houses, with their appurtenances) for the construction of the Castle—

*Pro castello sunt viii [hagae] destructae.*

If by this we understand that a new castle was built—as I think we may—we are faced by the difficulty that thirty acres (the area of the Castle precincts) is a space far beyond the requirements of eight *hagae* of the average size of those recorded as existing in Wallingford.

The entry in *Domesday Book* states that there were 276 *hagae* in the town, of which eight were destroyed.

As we know the space within the walls to have been 114 acres, a simple arithmetical calculation shows that eight average *hagae* would occupy about three acres,

which is the space covered by many of the early Norman castles, and probably D'Oyley's work was no larger, the remaining twenty-seven acres of the Castle works being added later.

Mrs. Armitage has ably championed the Norman origin of mount and court castles, including this;<sup>1</sup> while our Associate, Mr. T. Davies Pryce—an earnest student of the earthworks of Wales and Ireland, as well as England—inclines to an earlier origin for many, and possibly for Wallingford.<sup>2</sup>

Leaving the question of the exact date of the Castle's construction, I cannot but conclude by thanking the Misses Hedges for affording facilities for a quiet examination of the earthworks, and congratulating them on the possession of a place beautiful by nature and so full of archæological interest.

<sup>1</sup> "Early Norman Castles of England," *English Historical Review*, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> "The Alleged Norman Origin of Castles in England." *Ibid*, 1905





## THE CHAPEL OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, WIGGINTON, TAMWORTH.

By CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.

"PHILIP DE MARMYON founded the hospital of St. James, close to Tamworth. In accordance with the directions of the king's writ, an Inquisition was taken in 1285, to ascertain the amount of damage which the Crown would sustain, if license should be given to Philip de Marmyon to assign certain properties to the master of the hospital, for the maintenance of five priests who should celebrate divine service there, and the issue was in his favour."

"Two years afterwards, Philip de Marmyon granted this hospital, with its appurtenances, and pasture in Ashfield for four oxen and two horses, to William de Combrey Hall, for a time, there to celebrate services for his soul, until he should place in it either religious men of the Premonstratensian Order, or secular priests who should bear upon them *signum clypei*. This hospital remained to the time of Henry VIII; and in 1534, when Robert Perrott was chaplain, was endowed with lands valued at £3 6s. 8d. annually."<sup>1</sup>



THE remains of this chapel are situate in the parish of Wigginton, and about two-thirds of a mile from the parish church of St. Editha, at Tamworth. The plan is of the earliest and simplest type, consisting of a nave, 21 ft. 3 ins. long and 14 ft. 8 ins. wide inside, and a chancel 14 ft. 9 ins. long and 10 ft. 10 ins. wide. Its last use was that of a dwelling-house, and its perversion to that purpose brought about much mischief to the original structure. Its west wall was taken down and substituted by one of bricks, with a fireplace and domestic windows therein. The south and east walls of the chancel were partly taken down and pierced for windows, and the south wall of the nave was broken into for the insertion

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Tamworth.* By Charles Ferrers Palmer.

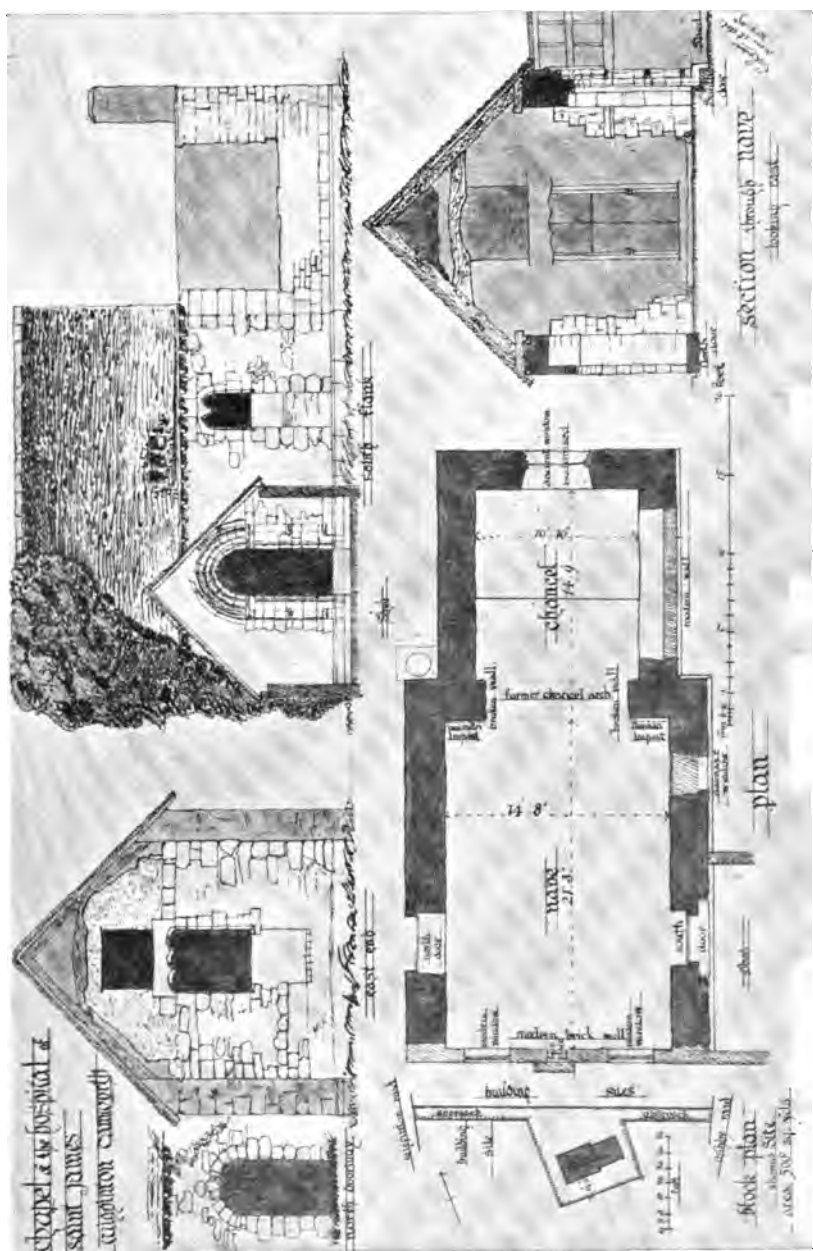
of a window. The chancel-arch was removed, and the void in its wall made considerably wider. At the present time the chancel is roofless, and the roof of the nave is in bad condition. Notwithstanding all this destruction, there still remains a most interesting little building, bearing its own unerring testimony to its ancient origin and later alterations. Except the west wall, all the others remain very much as they were first built. There is detail sufficient remaining to make it apparent that it was in the Norman period that this little house of prayer was raised. The masonry of its walls, the north doorway, the remaining impost on the line of the spring of the chancel-arch, and the base mould on the north flank, are all clearly indicative of the work of this date. The architectural feature of main interest is the south doorway, which is an insertion of an exquisite early example of the Early English period. The window south of the nave, with its head of two lights and its upper jambs of the right width for them, is also of architectural interest; and not less so is the fact that the wall beneath this window had been in early times converted into a doorway, the jambs and other features of which still remain. At the east end of the chancel the head and jambs and sill of a window of three lights are still preserved, corresponding with the window to the south of the nave; but these windows are later insertions into the early walls. It is probable that the little chapel originally depended for its window light on a few small single openings in each of its walls. The accompanying drawings roughly illustrate the architectural character of the building as it now appears. As an architectural relic of the far past the little building is worthy of appreciation by all who value historic memories.

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#### NOTE.

In view of the fact that this Association has made a small grant in aid of the restoration of this valuable relic, we insert the following additional information, kindly supplied by Mr. Lynam.

The ruins are on part of a site recently purchased for building on. The owner of the land and chapel entered upon his building arrangements with the intent of taking down the little ruin, but the interest







attached to it having been brought to his notice, he has conceded that in consideration of the sum of £100 the chapel and a sufficient quantity of land, about 500 yards in extent, shall be given up, provided the building be restored to its original use, and that services will be resumed and maintained. The Vicars of Wigginton and Tamworth are willing that services should be revived as far as practicable, and would rejoice if the little building is saved, and a resumption of its original purposes brought about.

In addition to the cost of the site and building, the expense of restoration will have to be met; but the amount of this will, of course, depend on the character of the work carried out. The whole reason and aim of this proposal would be negatived if any course were adopted not of the strictest conservative kind, for it is the preservation of every possible tittle of what remains of the old building that alone is sought for, and therefore nothing more than simple repair and reinstatement should be attempted. At the same time it must be brought up to a due fitness for church attendance, and this will involve considerable outlay. The chancel-roof will require reinstating, and the nave roof repairing generally. The walls will require making good where taken down, and repairing throughout, and the west wall externally repairing, being now of a single brick only in thickness. The internal plastering will require to be made good, and also the floor throughout. The reinstatement of the chancel-arch would be desirable, but not an actual necessity. Doors and windows will have to be provided. Altogether, the cost of purchase and restoration will amount to £350. For this sum an ancient Staffordshire relic of Norman and later times would be preserved, and the church's services revived in a consecrated fabric, desecrated for many years past.





## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18TH, 1906.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Royal Institute of British Architects for Nos. 2 and 10, Vol. xiii, 3rd Series.

„ Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, for “Transactions,” Vol. xxviii, Part 1, 1905.

„ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for Vol. xxxvi, Part 1, 1906.

The following member was duly elected :—

J. THOS. EDMONDS, Carlton Villa, Brixton Road, S.W.

Mr. R. H. Forster read a paper on “The Tenth Iter of Antoninus and the Roman Stations in the North of England.” He accepted Mr. Watkin’s identification of the route as far as Overborough, and traced it from that place to Watercrock, near Kendal, Ambleside, and Ravenglass. The western stations *per lineam valli* the writer attempted to identify as follows :—*Petriana*, Stanwix or Old Carlisle ; *Aballaba*, Papcastle ; *Congavata*, Malbray ; *Axelodunum*, Maryport ; *Gabrosentis*, Burrow Walls ; *Tunnocelum*, Moorsby ; *Glannibanta*, Ravenglass ; *Alio*, Watercrock ; and *Bremeteracum*, Ribchester. *Olenacum* and *Virosidum*, he considered, must be sought for to the south of Ribchester. These last four stations, with the other garrisons under the *Dux Britanniarum*, he held to be parts of a ring of forts encircling the hill country of the northern counties, placing *Danum* at Doncaster, *Morbium* at Templeborough, *Arbeia* at Almondbury, *Dictis* at Ilkley, *Concangium* at Bainbridge in Wensleydale, *Lavatrae* at Bowes, *Verterae* at Brough, *Braboniacum* at Kirby Thore, *Maglova* at Whitley Castle, *Magae* at Old Town in Allendale, and *Longovicum* at Lancaster.

# ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 2ND, 1906.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result :—

## President.

CHARLES E. KEYSER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

## Vice-Presidents.

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., EARL MARSHAL; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD MOSTYN; COLONEL SIR WALTER WILKIN, K.C.M.G.; THOMAS HODGKIN, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A.; R. E. LEADER, Esq., B.A.; LIEUT.-COLONEL CLIFFORD PROBYN; M. J. SUTTON, Esq., J.P.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.  
THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF  
DURHAM, D.D.  
SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,  
F.R.S., F.S.A.  
PROFESSOR JOHN FERGUSSON, LL.D.  
I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq., F.S.A.  
ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.

T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.  
REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.  
R. DUPPA LLOYD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.  
W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.  
GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.  
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.  
SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.  
BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

## Honorary Treasurer.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A.

## Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.  
J. G. N. CLIFT, Esq.

## Council.

ROBERT BAGSTER, Esq.  
REV. H. CART, M.A.  
W. DERHAM, Esq., M.A., LL.M.  
EMANUEL GREEN, Esq., F.S.A.,  
F.R.S.L.,  
RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.  
W. E. HUGHES, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

S. W. KERSHAW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.  
BASIL LAWRENCE, Esq., LL.D.  
A. OLIVER, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.  
J. H. PORTER, Esq.  
W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.  
C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.  
T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

## Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq. | GORDON P. G. HILLS, Esq.

Mr. R. H. Forster, Treasurer, read the following .—

## Treasurer's Report.

"Thanks to the success of the Reading Congress, the accounts for the year show a small balance to the good. On the other hand, the income from subscriptions has been deficient, and a large amount

# British Archaeological Association.

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1905.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
To Entrance Fees	.	.	1 1 0	By Printing and Illustrating <i>Journal</i>	.	.	116 12 0
" Subscriptions	.	.	138 12 0	" Salaries	.	.	27 10 0
" Ditto, Arrears	.	.	6 6 0	" Postages and Secretarial Expenses	.	.	18 0 3
" Donations	.	.	3 3 0	" Rent for Year	.	.	13 13 0
" Illustration Fund	.	.	3 0 0	" Advertising in the <i>Athenæum</i>	.	.	2 12 0
" Sales of Books	.	.	2 2 6	" Stationery and Sundry Printing	.	.	39 15 2
" Profit on Congress	.	.	74 3 1	" Archaeological Index	.	.	2 10 0
				" Sundry Expenses	.	.	5 10 6
				" Balance	.	.	2 4 8
			<u>£228 7 7</u>				<u>£228 7 7</u>

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1905.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Creditors	.	.	48 2 8	By Stock of <i>Journals</i> valued at	.	.	100 0 0
" Surplus Account :—				" Valuation of Library	.	.	250 0 0
December 31st, 1905	£399	4 7		" Investment in Consols	.	.	12 1 0
Add Balance for 1905	2	4 8		" Deposit in Savings Bank	.	.	53 17 8
		<u>401 9 3</u>		" Cash at Bank	.	.	33 13 3
			<u>£449 11 11</u>				<u>£449 11 11</u>

We have examined the Books and Vouchers produced to us, and find the same to be correct. In accordance with the directions of the Council, the above Statement is cast in the form of an Income and Expenditure Account, showing the actual working of the Association during the Year 1905; and a Balance-Sheet, showing the financial position at the end of the year.

(Signed)

ROBERT BAGSTER } Auditors.  
CECIL T. DAVIS }

remains outstanding under this head. It is to be hoped that much of this amount will come in during the current year, and that the income of the Association will be further increased by the election of new Associates, as it is not safe to count upon an equally large profit from the Congress of 1906.

"With regard to the expenditure, the cost of producing the *Journal* is stated more accurately than last year, when items for other work done by the same printers were included under this head. These are now shown separately, and the first entry on this side shows the cost of producing three parts of the *Journal*. This cost has been heavy, mainly owing to expense incurred for illustrations and corrections; but with careful management it should be possible to keep the cost of each number of the *Journal* down to an average of £30 or £32, in which case the Association ought soon to be in a position to resume a quarterly issue."

Mr. George Patrick, Hon. Secretary, then read the following :—

*Secretary's Report for the year ending December 31st, 1903.*

"The Hon. Secretary has the honour to report that the number of subscribing members has increased during the twelve months since our Annual General Meeting in 1905. After deducting losses by death and resignations, the total membership to date of subscribing Associates appears to be 271.

"A sub-committee of the Council has been appointed for the purpose of revising the rules, and their report will be submitted for your consideration and approval, or otherwise, this afternoon.

"A revised list of Associates has been prepared, and will be issued shortly.

"Since the resignation of the Editorial Secretary—the Rev. Dr. Astley—the editing of the *Journal* has been carried on by a small sub-committee, pending the appointment of a new editor.

"Considering that it would be for the greater advantage of the Association if a younger and more energetic Secretary were appointed, your present Hon. Secretary placed his resignation of the office in the hands of the Council, but expressed his willingness to serve until a successor could be met with.

"Although it is gratifying to know that the subscribing membership is increasing, it would be still more so to find members taking an active part in the affairs of the Association, as regards the preparation of papers for the evening meetings and the exhibition of antiquities, and an increased attendance at the Annual Congress.

"The Hon. Secretary desires to apologise for the meagreness of this Report in some particulars, as, owing to recent circumstances, the requisite information is not in his possession.

"GEO. PATRICK, *Hon. Secretary.*"

The meeting then considered and passed a number of alterations in the Rules of the Association, which had been recommended by a Committee of the Council. The Rules, as revised, will be circulated at an early date.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 16TH, 1906.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Dr. Winstone exhibited a copy of an early edition of the *Homilies*—an excellent specimen in the original binding.

The Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., Vice-President, read a paper on "Some Relics of the Cornish Language," giving an interesting account of the existing manuscripts, some of which have never been printed; and also tracing the many survivals of this ancient tongue which remain in the Cornish dialect of the present day.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21ST, 1906.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected.—

St. O. Baddeley, Esq., The Grove, Hampstead, N.W.

H. T. Weyman, Esq., F.S.A., 8, Mill Street, Ludlow.

Mr. Patrick read a paper by Mr. R. Mann on "The Roman Residency at Darenth;" in which the author, after describing the remains, contended that from the size of the buildings, and especially the stabling accommodation, the place must have been the official quarters of the Roman Governor of the district, and not, as other authorities have supposed, a fuller's house and workshop. A discussion followed, some members supporting Mr. Mann's view, while others thought that the official character of the building had not being made out; and it was suggested that possibly the place may have been a *mansio* on the road between London and Richborough.









TRIPTYCH OF TILES FROM CHERTSEY ABBEY.



## Notices of Books.

**CHERTSEY ABBEY: AN EXISTENCE OF THE PAST.** By **LUCY WHEELER.**  
With a Preface by Sir **SWINFEN EADY.** London: Wells Gardner,  
Darton and Co., Ltd.

THE history of a great religious foundation is always a fascinating study, more particularly when we can trace it from the earliest days of Christian England. What story, for instance, is more engrossing than the vicissitudes of the little community which, founded on Holy Island by Aidan, eventually grew into the majestic Abbey of Durham; or the tale of Hexham Priory, from the time when Wilfrid built "the finest church on this side of the Alps," to the day when the Master of Ovingham, in 1536, "beyng in harnes, with a bowe bentt with arrowes," stood on the walls, ready "to defend and kepe the same with force"? On another page Mr. Ditchfield has traced the history of the Abbey of Abingdon; and in this volume we have a detailed account of another great mitred Abbey beside the Thames.

The stories of these pre-Conquest foundations run on more or less parallel lines: there is the same initial enthusiasm, the same calamities during the Danish invasions, the same period of laxity, and the same revival of religious life; then we find the same ambition for architectural splendour, territorial aggrandisement, and temporal jurisdiction, till at last opulence and privilege bring on the inevitable period of decay. In this book we may follow the history of Chertsey Abbey through all these stages. Nominally founded by Frithwald, an ealdorman of Surrey, in A.D. 666, it owed its life and organisation to its first Abbot, Erkenwald, afterwards Bishop of London, a remarkable man even in that period of remarkable men and women—the age when England imported Aidan and Theodore, and produced Wilfrid, Cuthbert, Hild, Caedmon, and Baeda. Miss Wheeler describes the thirteenth century as the "Monastic Golden Age," but the phrase might more truly be applied to the end of the seventh and the opening of the eight centuries: a period golden not with material wealth, but with work and workers.

We have not space to follow the writer through her minute and

interesting account of the Abbey's history, its possessions, and its privileges ; but we must notice one point which is of some importance—the suggested identification of Hugh, Abbot of Chertsey, in 1152, with Hugh de Puiset, who became Bishop of Durham in the following year. The identification is based on the fact that in each case Hugh is described as a nephew of King Stephen ; and though none of the northern historians mention the Abbacy, it is not improbable that the young man (he was twenty-five in 1153) was a pluralist. Before his election to the see of Durham he was Treasurer and Archdeacon of York. If the suggestion be correct, it is a curious coincidence that Chertsey should have supplied the two Bishops of Durham to whom we owe the majestic donjon of Norham Castle by the Tweed, built by Ralph Flambard, who was Abbot of Chertsey from 1092 to 1100, and restored by Hugh de Puiset in 1154.

In the title the Abbey is described as “an existence of the past,” and, unfortunately, the description is only too correct, since scarcely a vestige remains of this once magnificent edifice. Much of the material was used in building the palace of Oatlands, which in its turn has disappeared almost as completely as the Abbey. Happily, a number of mediæval encaustic tiles have been recovered from the site of the latter building, and many of them are to be seen in the British Museum. To these a special chapter is devoted.

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NEOLITHIC MAN IN NORTH-EAST SURREY. By WALTER JOHNSON and WILLIAM WRIGHT. London : Elliot Stock, 1906.

The ever-increasing interest that is excited by the engaging study of Neolithic Man renders any addition to literature that adds to our knowledge of the prehistoric eras of this country most welcome to all who take an interest in the untiring efforts made by savage man to attain civilisation in the remote past.

In ancient times, the peoples of all countries, from far Egypt to Scandinavia, were, at one stage of their development, users of flint and bone implements only ; and there is no difference between some of the flint knives and arrow-heads found in the sands of the Thebandesert and those so frequently discovered in our own Thames valley.

It is an astonishing fact that this enthralling study is quite a modern one, for although the ancients of historical times were acquainted with stone implements, they did not connect them with man, but looked upon them with superstition, attributing them to the gods. In the Middle Ages the fairies were held accountable for their manufacture, flint arrow-heads being called elf-bolts ; and at the present time, in

outlying districts of Ireland, the peasants still believe in their efficacy to cure disease by touch.

With this book and a few flint implements before us, we can shut our eyes to our everyday surroundings, and picture the days when man brought down his quarry with a flint-tipped arrow, and proceeded to skin and dismember it with his flint knife: that useful tool without which he would have been in no better position than the wild beast that has to rend its food with claws and teeth. Further, to show how effective these simple weapons were, bones of animals, and even of man himself, have been found with Neolithic arrow- and lance-heads still firmly embedded in their structure.

This ably-written book is not only delightfully instructive, but will also suggest to the reader the joy of being a collector of the seemingly imperishable witnesses of early man's ingenuity therein described. Apart from the interesting description of the Neolithic implements, the topographical chapters, dealing with prehistoric camps and trackways, are of especial value to Surrey ramblers with antiquarian proclivities.

NOTES ON THE EARLIER HISTORY OF BARTON-ON-HUMBER. By ROBERT BROWN, Junior, F.S.A. London: Elliot Stock, 1906.

THIS is a scholarly work, bearing evidence of patient research, and the author is to be congratulated on the production of a book which throws considerable light on the early history of the town of Barton-on-Humber, and incidentally upon the county of Lincolnshire in Anglo-Saxon and Danish times.

Barton-on-Humber is a town of great antiquity in a district closely associated with Roman civilisation, although not itself, apparently, of Roman foundation. We learn from Mr. Brown's valuable work that Barton was an important road-centre in Romano-British times. Its greatest interest, however, attaches to the Anglo-Saxon and Danish periods of our country's history, which are dealt with at length in this volume, commencing with the name of the town, which is purely Anglo-Saxon, derived from the words *bere*—barley, and *tún*—an enclosure. The Anglo-Saxon name Beretún appears in *Domesday* as Bertone; in the *Lindsey Survey*, A.D. 1115, as Bartuna; in a Final Concord of A.D. 1202 as Bareton; in a Final Concord of A.D. 1207 as Bacthon; in a Final Concord of A.D. 1238-9 as Barthon; and in a map of Lincolnshire, A.D. 1576, as Bato, now Barton. The author, however, does not assert that the Saxon invaders founded the town, but considers that they gave the name Beretún "to a town of

Romano-British origin, which already occupied the site, and displayed to them the characteristics suggested and implied in this Saxon name."

A very interesting feature is the connection of the great Mercian Bishop Ceadda, or St. Chad, with Barton, where it is considered very probable he established a Christian church, with its connected buildings on a site previously regarded as sacred to some heathen god, which was, indeed, no uncommon practice. The general characteristics of Anglo-Saxon defences and fortifications, as appertaining to Barton, are described with fulness, from which it appears that Anglo-Saxon Barton was surrounded by a rampart and a dyke; but the town was never at any period of its history defended, as a whole, by stone walls and towers. The Danes have left a deep impress both on the place-names and on the ordinary language of the town, neighbourhood, and shire, and some interesting reminiscences are given.

Of the celebrated example of Anglo-Saxon architecture, the tower and western adjunct of St. Peter's Church, the author has much to tell, and his description is good and up to date. He places the date of the tower in the reign of Cnut—probably about A.D. 1020. The later pages of the volume before us treat of the history of Barton in the Norman period, and we are promised a second volume dealing with the parish in both Plantagenet and Edwardian days. The work is well illustrated with maps, plans, and views; and as it is divided into sections instead of chapters, with detailed subsections, the absence of an Index is not of so much importance.





## Archaeological Notes.

*Discoveries at the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*—We are indebted to Mr. R. Oliver Heslop, M.A., F.S.A., Honorary Correspondent of the Association, for the following communication :—

The Newcastle Society of Antiquaries recently conducted excavations on the site known as "The Heron Pit," just within the great gateway, or Black Gate, leading into the Castle Garth. The name of this site was acquired from William Heron, Sheriff of Northumberland from 1247 to 1257, who built a prison adjoining the south curtain wall during his period of office. Until quite recently the area had been covered by a row of half-timber houses, probably of seventeenth-century date. Their demolition uncovered the curtain along its entire length from the outer—and earlier—wall of the Castle enclosure to the Black Gate. Excavations under the direction of Mr. W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., revealed Heron's pit in a perfect state of preservation. It is entirely subterranean, and removal of the earth with which it had been filled showed it to consist of four walls of excellent ashlar work, forming a square pit measuring  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by  $8\frac{1}{4}$  ft. in area. This was excavated to a depth of 12 ft. Beam-holes show the level of its heavily-supported ceiling, a trap-door in which had given access to the prison below. In 1358 the sheriff of the period accounted for the cost of repairs, and, from his detailed statement, this trap-door was shown to have been renewed with the heavy iron bar and lock with which it was fastened. When this was closed, light and air must have been excluded, the four walls of the cell having neither slit nor air-hole in their faces. In this fourteenth-century account, particulars of a building, 44 ft. long, erected over the Heron Pit, are given. One step above the floor-level of this structure the curtain wall is pierced by a zigzag passage, giving access to a latrine over the Castle moat. Further excavation adjoining the Pit revealed the site of the inner drawbridge, and the recess in which the apparatus for lifting or withdrawing it had worked. The bridge had crossed a

gap in the roadway, extending apparently the entire width between the curtain walls, and forming a chasm about 9 ft. wide by 12 ft. deep. Its sides were faced with carefully-dressed and well-built ashlar, and at its southern end a doorway and passage led through the outer wall. On the inner side the door had a shouldered head, whilst its exterior door closed against a pointed arch, and was secured within by a heavy spar. From the position of this doorway and its low level, its exit must have been close to the margin of the moat, where it appears to have served the purpose of a sally-port.

The excavations and the adjoining site have been roofed over, and the large apartment thus enclosed has been utilised as a wing to the Museum for the reception of a portion of the Society's collection of Roman inscribed and sculptured stones.

*Winchester Cathedral.*—Every now and again the archæological world and the admirers of our ancient ecclesiastical buildings are startled by alarming reports of serious danger to one or another of our grand old cathedrals, caused by the fall of some portions of the fabric. Subsequent examination generally shows that this damage is due to failure of the foundations to support the superimposed weight of the structure, or to the nature of the soil on which they are laid, or to both combined.

In the case of Winchester, to which public attention was directed, in February last, by the fall of some portions of the stone-vaulting of the choir, the trouble has been caused by the sinking of the earth under pressure from above. The eastward portions of the Cathedral have been threatened with a serious disaster, happily now in considerable measure averted by the judicious steps taken by the Dean and Chapter, upon the advice and under the direction of Mr. T. G. Jackson, R.A., in consultation with Sir Douglas Fox and partners, the well-known civil engineers.

The Cathedral is situated on a hillside, gently sloping from west to east, the subsoil of which is hard gravel, overlaid with deposits of peat and marl, of about 7 ft. and 6 ft. in thickness respectively, with some 9 ft. of vegetable earth in addition as surface soil. The hard gravel, therefore, at the eastern end lies at a depth of over 22 ft. from the ground level. This depth appears to have been too great for the builders of the eastern addition in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries to cope with, and they resorted to the expedient of a grillage, or timber foundation, laid upon the marly soil. According to Mr. Jackson's report, referred to in *The Builder* of April 21st, the whole eastern end of the building was originally supported by a grillage

formed of two layers of tree-trunks laid crossways to each other in the soft soil. *The Builder* further says: "Many of the trunks remain sound; but others, as we have seen for ourselves, are so decayed that portions may be crumbled to powder between the fingers. Even if the timber had remained sound, there would still have been settlement, for the trunks have been pressed down into the soft earth by the weight of the masonry above. The last-mentioned difficulty seems to have been recognised by the builders, who extended the Lady-Chapel in the fifteenth century, for the grillage then employed was made of proportionately greater area, so as to distribute the weight more effectually."

In order to arrest any further settlement, and permanently secure the foundations, it became necessary to underpin the affected parts and carry down the foundations to the hard gravel. This was not an easy task, as, after the removal of the peat the water flowed into the excavations, and the assistance of divers had to be obtained, who deposited sacks of Portland cement upon the gravel-bed, and grouted them in with cement. Upon this a solid base of cement concrete was laid, to receive the new footings of hard brick in cement under the old walls. The dangerously-defective condition of the vaulting and the cracks in the walls are receiving the most careful attention; and we hope and believe that, under the capable guidance of Mr. Jackson and his colleagues, the future safety of the Cathedral is assured. The measures undertaken are solely those of preservation of the structure for future ages; but they are necessarily of a costly nature, and the Dean will be grateful for any contribution from those who love, value, and appreciate the noble architectural achievements of our forefathers.

*Excavations at Holm Cultram Abbey, Cumberland.*—We are indebted to the Rev. W. Baxter, M.A., Rector of Holm Cultram, for the following note:—

In February last, while certain improvements were being carried out in the Churchyard of St. Mary's, Holm Cultram, important discoveries were made beneath an uneven mound, covered with coarse grass and fortunately free from graves, about twenty-five yards from the eastern end of the remaining portion of the old Church. Apart from the mound formation, the situation was suggestive: on the very spot or thereabouts the tower had fallen on New Year's Day, 1600, bringing down the greater portion of the chancel; it was there that the new chancel, hastily rebuilt out of the old material, and gutted by fire in 1604, fell into a ruinous heap.

A few days' diligent work revealed more than was anticipated.



Amongst the blocks of red sandstone, fragments of pillars, and loose pieces of tiling that were unearthed, there were at least four objects of interest. First in order came two capitals, representing different periods of architecture—one a typical piece of Early English work, closely resembling the capitals of the pillars in the existing nave; the other an arched capital of the Decorated period, with a floral design above the arch on either side, and near the outer edge a stringing with double tie-band at intervals of an inch and a-half: a head also appears to be missing. Then came a small image of the Virgin or some saintly woman, surmounted by a cross, and the lower portion



Excavation eastward of present East End of Church.

of an image of the Madonna and Child, with a fringe of angels at either side, very beautifully sculptured.

These discoveries were, however, thrown into comparative insignificance by the greater discovery which followed—the existence of the lower portion of a doorway, 4 ft. in width, and 75 ft. 6 in. from the eastern end of the present Church. It is set in a solid wall exactly in line with the pillars of the nave. On either side of the doorway are the bases of two pillars, with some very vigorous moulding, and dog-tooth ornament in a good state of preservation. On the south side of this entrance, in what must have been the chancel, is a flooring of

tessellated tiles, small in size but of good design, similar to those which formed the flooring of the aisles, many specimens of which are still to be found in this district. Within the doorway on the north side many square encaustic tiles of larger dimensions were discovered, and these formed a circular pattern with a floral ornamentation and a black cross, the cognisance of the Abbey.

Ten feet westward from the doorway, in the wall which joins it, is a base, 5 ft. square on which must have rested one of the pillars of the tower. To the east of the doorway on the chancel side, at the last stage of the work of excavation, a large stone step was discovered, possibly a chancel step.

The excavations are of importance, as affording material for the correction of previous ideas with regard to the position of the north transept and the tower. According to a MS. bearing date *circa* 1600, Holm Cultram church was "93 yards long, 45 yards broad. The length of the chancel was 32 yards, the breadth 21 yards; from the steeple (which was in the middle) to the lower church door, 54 yards . . . and the steeple being 19 fathoms stood upon the chancel." It is now concluded that the north-eastern pillar of the tower, and not the north-western, as was supposed, rested on the aforementioned base; that the crossing, in all probability, was on the site of the tower, and that the transepts were not so far eastward as had generally been conjectured. The doorway in question must have been east of the transept, and outside it, and may possibly have led into the Chapter-house. Such a reconstruction of the plan agrees with the measurements in the old document. The only difficulty is Bishop Nicholson's statement that the nave had nine arches. On the present hypothesis, it would only have eight, but possibly the transept arch was counted as a bay.

The discoveries are also interesting, as revealing work of such artistic merit as to suggest the richness and finish which must have characterised the perfect structure. The existing church, unfortunately, consists of no more than the six western bays of the nave, the clerestory and aisles having been removed, and the arches walled up in the eighteenth century.

*The Wall and Vallum between Tyne and Solway.*—Our attention has been drawn to a Paper by Mr. T. V. Holmes, F.G.S., read at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, on March 28th, 1906. The Paper, which is entitled "Notes on the Comparative Ages of the Roman Wall between Solway and Tyne, and the structures associated with it," is an interesting contribution to the study of

an ever-fascinating series of problems. Mr. Holmes is of opinion that the vallum is of pre-Roman origin, and marks the result of a desire on the part of the settled agricultural inhabitants of the valleys of the Tyne, Irthing, and Eden to make a boundary between their settlements and the ground over which a more or less migratory people might drive their flocks and herds. He also contends that such camps as Vindobala, Hunnum, Procolitia, and Borcovicus—commanding neither road nor river, but likely to be useful as camps of refuge—were of later date than the rest. It is most improbable, he says, that these would be built before the time of Commodus, and the latest of them he ascribes to the second half of the fourth century. The wall between Solway and Tyne, uniting camp to camp, was built, Mr. Holmes concludes, only when the barrier of Antoninus tended to become untenable—probably in the first fifteen or twenty years of the fifth century.

We have been supplied with the following note on the subject:

The tribal boundary theory of the vallum has received weighty support recently, but there are difficulties in the way of its acceptance. The design is too complicated, and too expensively carried out; and several large tracts of land on the southern side must in early times have been quite unsuited for agriculture. There is, however, still room for much careful observation, especially in the interesting section between Sewingshields and Carvoran. Here the engineer, whether Roman or pre-Roman, had many difficulties to encounter. There were marshes, and even shallow lakes, to be avoided, and an adequate supply of earth to be found within a reasonable distance, the southern slopes of the basalt hills being only thinly covered. It has been suggested that in dealing with these difficulties he has kept the vallum, as far as possible, within sight of the nearest point of the wall, but the matter requires further investigation. The same suggestion would explain the fact that at several points the vallum is overlooked from the south.

In dealing with the dates of the stations, Mr. Holmes seems to place too much reliance on a strategical theory, and to under-estimate the evidence of the actual remains, and especially of inscriptions. There are, unfortunately, few remains at Vindobala, Hunnum, and Procolitia; but the gateways and other buildings at Borcovicus certainly belong to an early period, and Procolitia has yielded an inscription mentioning Platorius Nepos. Moreover, Borcovicus was a wall station or nothing; if a "camp of refuge" had been needed in that neighbourhood, it would certainly have been placed elsewhere.

As to the date of the wall, it is impossible to accept Mr. Holmes's

theory in view of what we know of the degenerate character of the masonry during the latter part of the Roman occupation ; and if we are to believe Vegetius' account of the state of the Roman legions at the end of the fourth century, we cannot credit them with so fine a work. Further, why did they not—at least for a great part of the line—use the already existing ditch of the vallum ?

It is probable that too much stress has been laid upon the achievements of Agricola. There is nothing to show that his Clyde to Forth frontier was maintained continuously after his recall, or that the Antonine barrier was held after Oaracalla abandoned his father's conquests. On the whole, the evidence goes to show that the Tyne to Solway line was the frontier under Hadrian ; that Lollius Urbicus extended it to the Forth and Clyde ; and that early in the third century it was again contracted, Blatum Bulgium and Bremenium becoming the northernmost outposts. Later, about A.D. 300, the *linea valli* became once more the frontier.

*The Roman Antiquities Committee for Yorkshire.*—On June 25th last, the Committee visited the Blackstone Edge moors, on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire, for the purpose of inspecting the Roman road, the pavement of which is the finest remaining in Britain. Its width varies from 18 ft. on the western to 14 ft. on the eastern slope, and the centre of the pavement is composed of massive stones, which on the slopes of the hill are trough-shaped. The cause or purpose of this troughing has given rise to much speculation, but it was probably due to the use of skids by vehicles descending the hill. About half way up the Lancashire slope, where the rise is 1 in  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , a branch road deviating from the Roman road was made in post-Roman times, and where the branch road first deviated, coming down hill, the trough stones have apparently been removed, the suggestion being that it was not possible otherwise to get the wheel out of the trough. At the top of the hill, 1,400 ft. above sea-level, is the supposed site of a Roman camp. Near this spot, Mr. W. H. Sutcliffe, F.G.S., has recently carried out some excavations, close to where three large flat stones lay, and disclosed a peculiar rectangular stone structure on the side of the road, apparently about a foot high, though perhaps more, which the three stones might have exactly covered. It is thought that this may be a British cist or tomb, and Mr. Sutcliffe has agreed to examine the interior. From the top of the hill a mediæval track and a British track—the latter 5 ft. deep in places—may be seen. The road on the Yorkshire slope in many places shows no very distinct trough marks in the central stones, though lower down the ruts are very deep and

clear. Parts of this road are thought to have been re-laid in post-Roman times, with Roman material.

We are informed that Dr. Bodington, the Chairman of the Committee, has commenced the excavation of a villa at Middleham, and the Committee hopes to make some trial excavations at Cawthorn Camps, near Pickering, this autumn, with a view to excavating the whole site in subsequent years, if the indications are favourable.

The Committee, though primarily composed of a number of Yorkshire Societies, has power to co-opt other persons who are interested in the work, at a subscription of 2s. 6d. per annum, or a composition life fee of £1 1s. The Honorary Secretary and Treasurer is Mr. S. D. Kitson, Greek Street Chambers, Leeds.

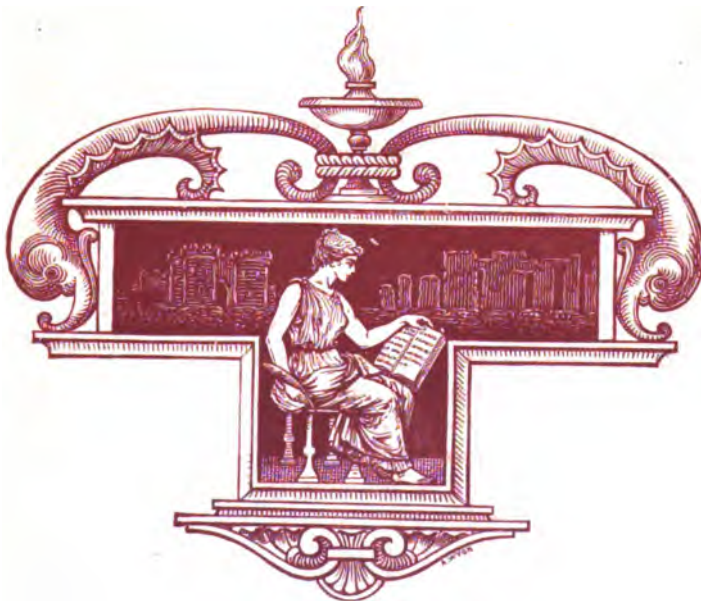


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# THE JOURNAL

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### THE ISLE OF ICTIS AND THE EARLY TIN TRADE.

By EMANUEL GREEN, Esq., F.S.A.

(Read November 15th, 1905.)



FROM certain allusions or statements in old writers, it has been assumed and accepted that in prehistoric times there was an export trade in British tin, shipped from an island called Ictis, lying somewhere off the coast. This island, the story says, became a peninsula at low water, and could then be reached by dry land, when the tin was brought to it and sold, shipped to Gaul, and carried across to Marseilles on horseback.

The great puzzle here has been the whereabouts of this island : a puzzle which has caused much doubt and wild guess-work without any satisfactory result. By some it should be St. Michael's Mount, off Penzance ; by others, it was the Black Rock at Falmouth ; by others, it was St. Nicholas's Island, at the mouth of the Tamar, near Plymouth ; by others, it was the Isle of Portland ; and by others, it was the Isle of Thanet. Yet again—and most absurd of all—it has been supposed and asserted



to be the Isle of Wight, solely because its name is somewhat like Vectis, the latin name for that island. To make this argument possible requires a capacious imagination indeed. The sea—a deep sea—from the mainland of Hampshire, must be made to dry up—in imagination; the necessary accommodation must be found on the island side—by imagination; and then the tin must be dragged to it overland—a further piece of imagination; and all this without a tittle of evidence to suggest the thought, and with the fine port and depôt of Clausentum (Bittern, our Southampton), actually in use close at hand. If history can be satisfied with such work, it must be a waste of time to seek for facts.

Archæology and geography have been so ruthlessly violated on this subject that, so far, the attempts to determine the question have resulted in failure, and this chiefly from the continued, persistent endeavour of writers to accept or adopt old theories and statements. To substitute for the chaotic confusion and traditional fallacy which have hitherto prevailed, a genuine, precise, and critical examination of the story must be fairly acceptable, and also hopeful for the truth. The first step towards accuracy will be gained when all legends or guesses are cast aside.

The old writers, as authorities, quoted singly and without context, have been used too often, not for what they could teach, but rather to be forced into agreement with preconceived or predetermined intention. They must necessarily be quoted again, but now in chronological close order, only to show the origin of, and to explain, the existing arguments.

Herodotus, the Greek author, about B.C. 450, did not know of Britain certainly as an island. It was thought then to be either joined to Spain and Gaul, or only separated from these by a narrow channel.<sup>1</sup> This, the first author to be quoted, is also the first to mention tin. "Concerning the western extremity of Europe," he writes, "I am unable to speak with certainty, nor am I acquainted with the Cassiterides, from whence our tin comes." Thus tin, for him and generally, did not come from Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Bk. iii, 115.

Passing on, in order of time, about B.C. 265, one Timæus gave a rather uncertain account of Britain; but he gives us the foundation of what follows on this tin question. To his mention of Britain he adds, "an island called Mictis, lying inwards, in which bright lead (*candidum plumbum*) is found, is within six days' sail, and the Britons sail over to it in coracles of osier covered with hides."<sup>1</sup>

Two little starts in our confusion have here been made: one by the introduction of bright lead, translated tin, and the other by the mention of the island of Mictis, which produced it. For it must be at once noticed that it was Mictis which produced the tin, not Britain; and further, the island was six days' sail from Britain, not attached to or part of it; and there is no intimation that the Britons in their coracles, if we can suppose they sailed six days at sea in such craft, brought anything with them or did anything more than sail over.

Pytheas, another writer of a little later date (about B.C. 260), implies that he came over to Kent, and that he travelled in Britain; but he gives no hint about tin, or that there was any communication with any tin district or with the Continent.<sup>2</sup> He only tells us that Kent is some days' sail from Gaul, and that the extreme points of the two countries lie opposite to each other: the eastern extremity of Britain opposite the eastern extremity of Gaul, and the western extremity opposite the western.

No notice is met with now for two centuries, when (about B.C. 50) one Posidonius is said to have crossed to Britain, and to have given the name *Altiventeum*, otherwise *Bolerium*, to some part of it. The name suggests experience of a south-wester. There certainly was a current idea that the winds were so strong that neither man nor horse could stand against them. With this new name comes another start in our confusion.

Posidonius does not mention British tin; but, writing of Iberia (Spain), he tells us that beyond the Lusitanians

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Bk. iv, c. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, Bk., iv, c. iv, 2.

(Portugal), in the Cassiterides, tin was found and obtained by digging.

The ancients of these days, as seen here and from Herodotus, believed that all tin came from this district of Iberia or from these islands, the Cassiterides, supposed little islands and unvisited, but imagined to be situated off the coast of Spain. They got the name from the Greek word *κασσίτερος*, tin. Pliny speaks of but one island called Cassiteros, because tin was first brought from it.<sup>1</sup> Strabo makes the number ten, and near each other. Of metals, he says, they had tin and lead. The traffic, he adds, is carried on from Gades. Those "who journey northward towards the Artabri (Galicia) have Lusitania on the right; and opposite the Artabri are the islands denominated the Cassiterides, situated in the high seas, but under nearly the same latitude as Britain. There is one thing peculiar to these islands: at a full sea they look like islands, but in low water they look like peninsulas."<sup>2</sup>

Here, again, it must be noticed, it was the Cassiterides, within sight of and presumably connected with the Spanish coast, but in no way connected with Britain, which produced the tin, and the trade, it is distinctly stated, was from Gades. Britain is mentioned only because its western end was believed to be immediately opposite, in nearly the same latitude.

One Publius Cassius is said to have visited the works about B.C. 50, and found the metals were dug out at but little depth. He told what he had learnt to those who wished to traffic, though the passage, he says, was longer than from Britain. Yet we have been told that these islands could be seen from the Artabri coast, and at low water were peninsulas. As Publius neither went to nor saw Britain, he could know nothing of it, either as to distance or anything else. Like other writers, he was only repeating and relying on the then belief that Britain was somewhere opposite in the ocean. Also, he gives neither starting-point nor time occupied in the transit. His little story is imperfect, and his informa-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, Bk. II, c. v, 16.

tion leaves us unsatisfied. May be, he learned somewhat of the works, but that he visited them is not in evidence.

Strabo, who repeats Pytheas, helps us to understand more fully the position and belief when he describes Britain as having its longest side parallel to Gaul, its length being about the same. The length, he tells us,—beginning at Kent, its most eastern point, opposite the mouths of the Rhine—extends to the western extremity, which lies over against (*i.e.*, opposite) Aquitaine and the Pyrenées. In another passage he says: “The Pyrenées terminate at the ocean; opposite this are the western coasts of Britain.” Britain, he adds, produces corn, cattle, gold, silver and iron. Again, there is no mention of either tin or lead.

The plain assertion here of the extension of the western extremity of Britain downwards to opposite the Pyrenées accounts for the idea that the Cassiterides—as being off the Spanish coast—must also, as a matter of course, be between that coast and the coast of Britain. This shows the same belief as in the time of Herodotus and Pytheas. It shows, too, that the coast of Britain was still unknown.

We now come to another time—an historic time—the time of the Romans. Cæsar, having determined to go to Britain, on arriving in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, made special inquiries of travelling traders, to learn all he could of the country, the people, the localities, harbours, and landing-places; “all which,” he says, “were unknown even to the Gauls, as none except merchants generally go thither unadvisedly; nor even to them was any portion known except the sea-coasts and those parts opposite Gaul.”<sup>1</sup> As might be expected, then, after calling these merchants from all parts, he gained from them little or nothing, either of the size of the island, the inhabitants, the system of war, or the harbours. He learned, like other writers, and describes Britain as triangular, one side being opposite Gaul, with Kent looking towards the east, and another side towards Spain and the west. “The most civilized people,” he adds, are they who inhabit Kent, which is a maritime district;

<sup>1</sup> *Cæsar: De Bello Gallico*, Bk. iv, c. 20.

they do not differ much from Gallic customs." He heard that *plumbum album*—translated tin—was produced inland, and in the maritime district there was iron but the quantity was small. To him and his narrators, the indefinite "inland" would be any place, or somewhere unknown. His narrative generally and his last words show the unimportance of his information, and at once contradict all idea, any knowledge of any known trade or export. Moreover, it happens that on his march through Gaul he came by the road supposed to be the route mentioned for the horse traffic going from Britain. Had there been any such trade, he must have met it. But he did not meet it.

Cæsar's stay in Britain was short, and must have been for him a busy time. He came, he saw somewhat of Kent and the people of the coast, and he went away. His position, not quite that of a conqueror, was more than that of an explorer or discoverer. His report made the country known, and, it is always supposed, brought it more into contact with the Roman power. Much knowledge, it would be imagined, must have been gained before the conquest actually occurred; yet Eutropius tells us that when Claudius made war on Britain, no Roman since Julius Cæsar had been there.

If we examine and consider Cæsar's account, there is really nothing new—nothing more than the oft-repeated story. The side towards Spain is still there. The question of tin-produce is still a question of hearsay. The tin trade is nowhere met with. Moreover, he tells us that the natives used bronze, "which is imported," so that they had no knowledge of tin and copper.

The next writer gives an extended text, and thus at the same time enlarges and adds to the confusion. He has been, in fact, the cause of the greater trouble associated with this subject.

Diodorus, writing far away in Sicily—say about B.C. 30—repeats or copies the old description of Britain as being triangular. Then he says: "the promontory nearest the Continent or mainland is called Cantium, and is distant, they say, about a hundred furlongs. The other point is called Bolerium, and is distant four days'

sail from the Continent. The extremity which runs out far into the sea is named Orca."

Starting with the promontory of Kent as the eastern point, Orca has been supposed or placed as about our Orkney, in the north; and Bolerium, as the other point wanted, is then left to become the western extremity, thus completing the triangle.

Such a reading seems to suit the text, as Diodorus gives the supposed distances of each side from point to point. But, as no one seems ever to have seen either point, Kent excepted, all else must have been imaginary. Then the distance of Kent from the mainland of Gaul is a question of "they say." He did not know even this as a fact. Further, the expression "four days' sail" from the Continent—presumably the coast opposite Kent—conveys no exact meaning, the possible or impossible sailing or rowing power of a boat of that day having to be well considered, and the question of any sailing or rowing by night not forgotten. What was exactly in the mind's eye of the writer cannot be realised. Pytheas says that Kent was "some days' sail" from Gaul; but, again, the starting-point is not given.

Continuing, Diodorus writes: "The inhabitants of the promontory of Bolerium are hospitable; and on account of their intercourse with strangers, more civilised and courteous in their habits than the rest are. These are the people who make the tin, which they dig and melt and refine, and cast in ingots in the form of *astragali*, and carry it to an island near at hand called Iktis.<sup>1</sup> At low tide, the land being dry between them and the island, they convey over in carts abundance of tin; hence the merchants transport the tin they buy of the inhabitants to Gaul, the opposite Continent, and then, by a thirty days' journey on horses' backs, to the mouth of the Rhone, to Marseilles and Narbonne, a great mart in those parts."

So far he writes of one island; but why the metal should have been carted across to it to be sold, to be then transported by the buyers and shipped to the coast of Gaul opposite, when all could seemingly have been done

<sup>1</sup> Lib. v, c. 22.

as easily from the place of origin, is not clear. Then the narrative suddenly, even in the same sentence, without hesitation or division, changes the sense from one island—near at hand—to a plural of several at a distance, a plural not previously indicated, and continues: "There is one thing peculiar to these islands which lie between Britain and Europe—little islands lying in the ocean over against Iberia. At full sea they look like islands, but at low water for a long way they look like peninsulas."<sup>1</sup> This is the old story, but the unconscious manner in which he glides away from the one island "near at hand" to "these islands"—a plural of several—not adjacent to Britain, but over against Iberia, shows a very mixed and indefinite state of mind.

For the first time, too, and the only time throughout these histories, we have the direct statement that tin was produced in Britain, and that the place of production was called Bolerium. The place-name Bolerium was given, but only once mentioned, by Posidonius. As already noted, by the reading given to Diodorus's description of Britain, Bolerium became the western extremity in the triangular shape; and being thus associated in the mind's eye with our Cornwall, our own known tin district, has helped to perpetuate the idea of an early tin trade. But by the reading of Posidonius, who saw only part of Kent, it might be that his Bolerium was there, in Kent; and it would seem that the Bolerium of Diodorus's mind must have been there also, opposite the coast of Gaul. In the first paragraph of his description, the "promontory" is Cantium, and Bolerium is a "point;" but in the continuation, Bolerium not only becomes the promontory, but is in the region of the hospitable, civilised, and courteous people, and so could only be in Kent. This description of the inhabitants, first especially and plainly made by Cæsar—made, too, from his own personal observation—is acceptable enough for Gallicised Kent, but could not apply at this prehistoric date to our western extremity, then, presumably, enjoying the wildest state of aboriginal freedom. Cæsar has also told us plainly that no portion

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv, c. 2.

of Britain was known even to merchants, except the Kentish coast opposite Gaul. Diodorus had the advantage of Cæsar's report, the one piece of hearsay extra which previous writers had not. But writing without personal knowledge, in utter ignorance of the locality, and having no topographical acquaintance with the country, from sheer geographical ignorance he muddles Kent and Bolerium with the older story of the islands over against Iberia. Further on, he repeats and confirms his confusion, when he says : " Over against the shore of Gaul, opposite the Hircinian mountains, there lye in the ocean many islands, the greatest of which is called Britain." And, again, when describing Gaul, he writes : " Its northern side is washed by the entire length of the British Channel, for this island lies opposite and parallel to it throughout."

The last writer on this subject puts the position clearly, goes one better, and shows not a current belief, but a fact. He writes : " The coast of Spain has two angles : the second forms a cape, where, in Brigantia, a city of Gallicia, is erected a most lofty pharos of the very best construction—*ad speculam Britannicæ*—in full view of Britain."

There is no evidence to be gathered from these accounts of any shipment or trade, or any connection whatever with any part of Britain. The Kent and Bolerium story goes off without any British island, without any definite connection with Britain.

The western extremity of Britain, entirely unknown and unvisited, was not our Cornwall—our Land's End—but was always off the coast of Spain, always over against Aquitaine and the Pyrenées, and, like the Cassiterides, was opposite the Artabri and Gallicia. Had the western extremity of Britain been known in any way—more especially for its commerce and the courtesy of its inhabitants—it would have been known in history, and known not to be off the coast of Spain.

Curiously, when Scipio was at Marseilles, in the course of some general inquiries he asked the natives what they knew about Britain, but they " had nothing to tell him

<sup>1</sup> Orosius : *Hist.*, Lib. i, c. ii.



worth mentioning," nor had the Narbonnaise. So here the very people most interested in, and who must have had visible evidences of this tin trade and the horse traffic, knew nothing about either, or of Britain.

Pliny, who knew a great deal, writing about A.D. 77, thirty years after the Roman conquest and ninety years after Cæsar's time, says: "It was not until the success of the Roman arms, barely thirty years since, that any extensive knowledge of Britain was gained." This confirms Eutropius, as already quoted. Here, then, we get a knowledgeable beginning; yet of British tin he says and knew nothing. He knew, and has told us, about British lead, and had he known anything of tin, he would have told us of that also. He knew of the metal in other parts, and he gives the early story of the search for it. His words are clear enough. "There is a fabulous story," he writes, "of the quest of tin in the islands of the Atlantic, and of its being brought in barks made of osiers covered with hides. It is now known to be a production of Lusitania and Gallicia."

Besides that the early coracle story, here satisfactorily elaborated and made more clear, is declared fabulous, there is again no idea of any relation to, or of any isle or produce connected with Britain; and, further, the actual known place of production is plainly stated.

It must, then, now be especially well digested, that since the place of production was thus declared known, and this story of the islands and coracles declared fabulous, nothing more has been added, or heard, or written, about either British tin, Bolerium, the Cassiterides, or the Isle of Ictis—myths all. Having served their purpose, they all disappeared with the first puff of fact. All the tales and stories connected with them arose from the imaginations of interested parties; they were concocted by traders, to mystify and satisfy querists and aid the concealment of their works, and were repeated from one writer to the other, the last being as ignorant of the fact as the first. Strabo, describing Spain, makes this clear when, alluding to these works, he records that the way to them was kept secret from all; the passage was con-

<sup>1</sup> *Nat. Hist.*, Bk. 34, c. 47.

cealed from everyone. Cæsar helps here again, when he says that travellers were often compelled to stop and tell what they knew—a plan he adopted himself; and in towns the people thronged around merchants to force them to state from what countries they came and what they knew of them. As these questions were frequently answered agreeably to their wishes, the querists too often accepted unauthorised or untrue reports.<sup>1</sup>

These early writers have been thus taken and quoted as having written in good faith. Each in turn has been examined or criticised on his own merits, so that, being gathered into one story, all may be considered together as a whole, to discover amid fiction, mystery, and fable what may be deserving of credit. As a conclusion, it must be seen that they wrote boldly enough, as if truthful, but did not write from personal knowledge; they followed the current belief, or copied from one another. Dion Cassius closely suits here, when he says, on the question whether Britain were a continent or an island; "Much had been written on either side by persons who, having neither themselves seen it nor heard of it from its inhabitants, know nothing of it, but merely conjecture as prompted by leisure or the love of controversy.

It is clearly useless continually and seriously to reconsider these stories. There is no evidence—nothing, absolutely nothing—either archæological or literary, to warrant the assertion that there was any early tin trade—maritime or otherwise—with Britain. With four hundred years' possession, the Romans took no British tin; and as to Cornwall, they did not touch it. Cornwall has no Roman history, no Roman occupation, no Roman remains. Cornwall was never part of Roman Britain; a few coins, as everywhere, have occasionally been found; but the question then to be promptly and minutely considered is how, when, or why they were put there?

Full of ports as the west coast is, there was no defensive or watchful fleet there. No inscription, no record, not a word, not a mark, has been found there—nothing whatever to suggest the use of any port or shipping west of Clausentum. Dr. Borlase, a prominent

<sup>1</sup> *Cæsar*, *B. G.* iv, 5.

Cornwall historian, when trying to work up something on this tin subject, made a special journey of investigation, but in the end was obliged to exclaim : " Nothing appears which can satisfy such an enquiry." Other historians can only say the same. Another local writer, Mr. Wm. Copeland Borlase,<sup>1</sup> after a careful attempt to find prehistoric remains in Cornwall, came to the conclusion that until the early years of Christianity, until the coming of the Romans to Britain and the then great influx of Kelts, Cornwall was a " seemingly desolate land." Populated by this great influx of Kelts, Cornwall, throughout the Roman occupation and for five hundred years after the Romans left, was independent primitive Keltic territory. Can it be imagined that such a people, new-comers, even if they could produce the tin, could have conveyed it through the Roman state for shipment ; or that, eager as the Romans were for mines and minerals, if they had known of such valuable produce, the country would have been left untouched ? Some thought, too, might be given to the possibility of a horse traffic through the early nations of Gaul ; and to the cost, the number of horses and men to a drove, and the work or distance they could do daily, and continue daily to do, even if safety could be guaranteed.

Yet notwithstanding this nothing, this entire absence of evidence, the old tradition has survived, and the coracle story still hangs about as a foundation for the idea of an early tin export.

The proverb says that everything comes to those who wait : so in this case, just what was wanted, a something to substitute for nothing, presently appears.

A paper in the *Forty-fifth Report of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* for 1863, gives an account of a block of tin said to have been dredged up in Falmouth harbour. The paper begins with the usual formula of the oldest inhabitant : About forty years ago, a block of tin was dredged up near St. Mawes, at the entrance to Falmouth harbour, and was presented to the Museum of the Institution at Truro. The argument then is, that this is an *astragalus* as described or recorded by Diodorus, thus

<sup>1</sup> *Nenia Cornubia*, p. 266.

throwing great light on the vexed question of the Cornish tin works, and giving great assistance in the attempt to localise the Isle of Ictis, here again argued to be St. Michael's Mount, to which, it was assumed, the block was being carried when lost. Why anyone with a modicum of common sense should be supposed to ship cargo from the fine port of Truro, or the more capacious port of Falmouth harbour, to be re-shipped at the almost impossible St. Michael's Mount, is not stated. Further, apparently the supporters of the theory have not read, or else have forgotten, that St. Michael's Mount does not fit the story, as it is not opposite Gaul, or any other continent.

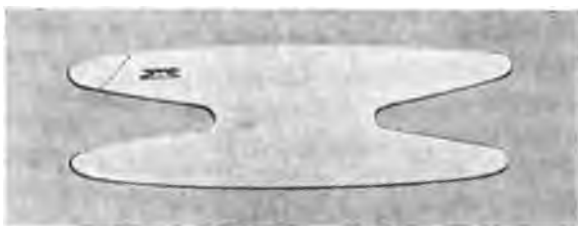
Whilst the paper gives St. Mawes, at the mouth of Falmouth harbour, as the finding-place, another account makes it Carrick—a much wider mark, higher up the river. Another writer says it was dug up (place not given) in 1823.<sup>1</sup> This helps to show how easily different stories arise when statements are made without reference to authorities. As a fact, it would seem, it is not known that it ever was dredged up. The only fact is, that it was given to the Museum in 1829; but, as to its origin, or when, or where, or if, found, nothing is clearly known.

Here some questions arise. How was it that such an epoch-making "find" remained unknown or unnoticed, until by chance in 1863? A genuine "find" of so great importance, thoroughly believed in, would have been widely declared at once; its date of finding and all particulars would have been made known, and duly recorded with verified exactness. There should have been, and must be, no doubt about dates or facts in such a case. But it seems to have been received (perhaps with quiet wisdom) simply as a curiosity, without much idea that it represented antiquity, and so it remained without public notice until the imagination of a lecturer gave it life in 1863. Such a beginning spells caution for the whole story.

The shape of the block is given as 2 ft. 11 in. long, 11 in. wide, 3 in. thick in the centre, but thinner at the

<sup>1</sup> Elton, C. J., *Origins of English History*.

ends, and it weighs 130 lbs. Further, it is flat on one surface, but curved on the other, and has at the corners four prolongations or points—one at each corner—each a foot long: a small piece is broken from one point, and there is a stamp mark on the body, very much like a copy of the block itself. As the inner surface of this mark is quite smooth, nothing can be gained from it. The Greek word *ἀστράγαλος* means literally, and has been translated, a knuckle-bone, known as a “dib” in a game played by boys. Another translation reads: “They cast it into ingots in the shape of dice.” As a die is a cube six-square, this is not quite exact; yet withal a knuckle-bone or dib is six-sided. The latin word—*talus*—may be taken to mean the same thing—an oblong, four-square and right-angled as to the sides in length, with two



square ends; in fact, ingot-shaped—the elongated, squared shape, which the most primitive smelter would adopt. Yet this extraordinary thing, without a square anywhere about it, and with four such projections, has been accepted as an *astragalus*, as above described.

But it was just these projections which fired and gave the impulse to the imagination. With the usual traditional idea in mind, it was seen how admirably adapted the form was for the horseback journey; as by reason of these projections, the thing could be strapped or slung over a horse's back; and further two blocks, one on each side, would, it was judged, be about the proper weight for a horse to carry. This imagination has enabled some one to produce the counterfeit presentment of a horse—a modern horse, not a prehistoric one—caparisoned and laden with two of these blocks, gaily on the march to somewhere. The picture hangs in the Museum

Library at Truro, but without a notice that it is purely imaginary.

Then, further, the shape was detected as suited for carriage in the bottom of a boat, as the curved part would fit under, and the corner points, when resting between the ribs of the boat, would prevent shifting; then, one such block being in place, the flat surface uppermost, two or three more placed adjoining, one in front of the other, would form a continuous floor, fitting exactly, in fact, as would be the case with any cast or shaped ballast made for a Falmouth harbour boat of the day.

With all this ingenuity, the shape of the bottom of a coracle has been overlooked, and it has not been considered what weight or cargo a prehistoric coracle could bear, nor has account been taken of such a craft being six days at sea. Those projecting points too, each a foot long, would hardly be welcome with any motion within hide-covered wicker-work.

If, at first, this block were made for ballast as a passing fad, no special notice would be taken of it by the maker, and it may have remained for some years out of sight, until presented in 1829. After a lapse of thirty-four years to the time of the paper in 1863, all concerned in the making may have disappeared, and so nothing more could be known about it. After another lapse of forty years until now, all is blank—one more myth in this mythical story.

Another local episode, or "find," may be noticed, as it is sometimes quoted in evidence of Roman occupation and of Roman tin. In the autumn of 1869, only six years after the above-noted paper, some workmen at Caerhayes Castle, near Truro, found in a tin can some thirty copper Roman coins. The tin, or a piece of it, was sent for analysis, and the report returned that the quality was as good as that of common tin of the present day.<sup>1</sup> The early seekers for tin sought it, as we do now, to use as an alloy only, with copper for bronze, with lead for pewter. As a metal, it has never been and cannot be

<sup>1</sup> *Royal Institution of Cornwall*, v. 3, No. 12.

used alone. No utensil, domestic or otherwise, ever was made of tin, save perhaps as an experimental failure. It cannot be beaten or hammered into shape; it must be cast, and this necessitates a mould for the required form: not easy work for an aboriginal people, with only a hole in the ground for a furnace. If cast thin it would be weak, would easily indent, and would not bear its own weight; if cast thick enough to be strong, its weight would make it useless. By itself, in fact, tin is useless. We know fairly well the history of our own tin production, but in our domestic history there are found no tin utensils.

What we see and buy as tin is a new metal—an alloy, or amalgam, of tin and iron called tinplate. In the “process” the tin seems to absorb the iron, the result still looking like tin. This tinplate, however thin, is rigid and strong, and capable of use in ways innumerable. The “process” was introduced about 1740, and moved at first somewhat slowly, until some cheapening improvements gave it an impulse about fifty years after that date. A writer on old pewter tells us that after 1745 “white iron-” smiths took the place of the old pewterers.

These Roman coins, then, at Caerhayes were found in a “tin,” the common tin of the present day, an entirely modern metal, something no Roman ever saw, and moreover in a place whereon, we may say with fair certainty, no Roman foot ever trod.

Whilst we have no record of any tin workings in Roman times, so it is the same in post-Roman days. Tin is not mentioned in the Cornwall *Domesday*—an ominous and sufficient silence. It was not worked there until after that date. Then Devonshire produced tin before Cornwall, and in greater quantity; yet the district about Tavistock—only a few miles from Roman Exeter—was left unnoticed and untouched.

Archæology should be more severe in its criticisms of these early myths. Stories, imaginary and fabulous, should be more often strongly marked, or promptly and entirely swept away.

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## THE TENTH ITER AND THE ROMAN STATIONS IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

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(Read April 18th, 1906.)



THE Tenth Iter of the Antonine *Itinerary*, and the western fortresses *per lineam valli* of the *Notitia*, have been the subjects of much speculation since the time of Camden; and though it is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to come to a definite conclusion, it may be useful to sum up the circumstantial evidence, and to point out where research is likely to produce good results.

The Tenth Iter<sup>1</sup> begins at Glanoventa, and ends at Mediolanum, in Cheshire, but it is more convenient to trace it in the reverse direction. It has been generally agreed that the route runs through Manchester (Mancunium), Wigan (Coccium), and Ribchester (Bremetonacum), to Overborough, near Kirby Lonsdale, where there was an important Roman town. This place is about the required distance (27 miles) from Ribchester, and it may therefore be set down as Galacum. From Overborough a Roman road continues in the same line up the Lune

<sup>1</sup> Iter a *Glanoventa Mediolano*, m. p. cl., *sic*.

<i>Galava</i>	.	.	m. p. xviii.
<i>Alone</i>	.	.	m. p. xii.
<i>Galacum</i>	.	.	m. p. xix.
<i>Bremetonaci</i>	.	.	m. p. xxvii.
<i>Coccio</i>	.	.	m. p. xx.
<i>Mancunio</i>	.	.	m. p. xvii.
<i>Condate</i>	.	.	m. p. xviii.
<i>Mediolano</i>	.	.	m. p. xviii.

valley, past a fort at Low Borrow Bridge, and across the moors to Kirby Thore, from which place a road called the Maiden Way, or Maiden Gate, traverses the Cross Fell range to Whitley Castle, a Roman station by the south Tyne, and so leads to Magna on the Wall. This is the route which Mr. Watkin<sup>1</sup> identifies with the Tenth Iter, placing Alone at Borrow Bridge, Galava at Kirby Thore, and Glanoventa at Whitley Castle, but the identification is not satisfactory.

1. There is a serious difference between the distance of Kirby Thore from Borrow Bridge (about 16 English miles) and the distance of Galava from Alone (12 Roman miles), which can only be got over by supposing a copyist's error.

2. Whitley Castle was a large station, but it can hardly have been a place of sufficient importance for the commencement of an Iter. No doubt the First Iter begins at Bremenium, and the second at Blatum Bulgium, neither of them important stations; but these places were on what, at the date of the *Itinerary*, must have been the northern frontier, and Whitley Castle was not.

3. There is good reason to believe that Kirby Thore is the Brovonacæ of the Second Iter, and probably it is the Braboniacum of the *Notitia*. B and V were readily interchangeable—e.g., the Aballava of inscriptions becomes Aballaba in the *Notitia*—and by the end of the third century the spelling of names had become to some extent corrupted. Many authorities hold that the Brovonacæ of the Second Iter is the same as the Brocavum of the Fifth, on the ground that the Kirby Thore station was a little to the east of the line of the road; but the same objection would tell against Mr. Watkin's theory of the Tenth Iter, since Overborough lies a little to the west of his route. In either case, the objection is trivial. We are dealing with a list of convenient *mansiones*, or stopping-places; and to a traveller on the great road from York to Carlisle a *détour* of a few hundred yards would be a matter of small consequence; nor is it

<sup>1</sup> *Roman Lancashire*. By W. Thompson Watkin. 1883. Chapter ii.

necessary to suppose that the *mansio* was within the fortifications. The distances are fairly conclusive—

1. Second Iter.

Luguvallum to Brovonacæ .	27 Roman miles.
Carlisle to Kirby Thore .	26½ English miles.
Brovonacæ to Verteræ .	13 Roman miles.
Kirby Thore to Brough .	12½ English miles.

2. Fifth Iter.

Verteræ to Brocavum .	20 Roman miles.
Brough to Brougham .	19 English miles.
Brocavum to Luguvallum .	22 Roman miles.
Brougham to Carlisle .	20 English miles.

It will be noticed that there is a discrepancy of two miles in the Roman mileage, but the distances are given as approximate only.

Now, if Kirby Thore is Brovonacæ, or Braboniacum, it cannot be Galava, and we must find some other route for the Tenth Iter. The late Chancellor Ferguson suggested<sup>1</sup> that Glanoventa—the starting-point—was probably a great military centre, like Old Carlisle near Wigton, or an important port on the Cumberland coast, such as Ravenglass. Old Carlisle is at about the right distance—48 miles—from Overborough in a direct line, but the distance by road is too great, and it is impossible to make the intermediate *mansiones* fit it with known Roman sites. Let us see how Ravenglass will suit us.

From Overborough a Roman road has been traced westward to the Lune, and the remains of oak piles have been found in the bed of the river.<sup>2</sup> A little south of Kendal, at a place called Watercrock, are the remains of a Roman station, 12 miles from Overborough in a direct line; but if this road ran westward through Burton in Kendal, where Roman remains have been found, and joined the road from Lancaster to Watercrock, the distance is extended to about 18 miles, and the *Itinerary* makes Alone and Galacum 19 Roman miles apart. Watercrock is therefore a suitable site for Alone, espe-

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Cumberland*. 1890. P. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Roman Lancashire*, p. 84. See also Appendix to *The Antiquities of Overborough*, by the Rev. Richard Rauthmel. 2nd Edit., 1824.

cially as Alone is probably a Latinised form of the well-known Celtic river-name, which appears elsewhere as Aln, Allen or Allan, and Watercrook is more intimately associated with a river than most Roman stations. The stream almost encircles it.

The next *mansio* is Galava, 12 Roman miles from Alone, and about 12 miles from Watercrook is Ambleside, where traces of a Roman station have been noted. From Ambleside a Roman road ran up Little Langdale, over Wrynose and Hardknott Passes, and so to Ravenglass at the mouth of the Esk,<sup>1</sup> a distance of about 18 miles. The *Itinerary* gives 18 miles between Galava and Glanoventa, and at Ravenglass we find the remains of a Roman fortress and villa.

The chief objection to this identification of the Tenth Iter is that the route shifts from one road to another, and executes, so to speak, a series of knight's moves, but the same remark applies to certain other *itineraria*. The *Itinerary* is not a complete account of the Roman road-system in Britain, nor are the longer routes meant to be directions for one continuous journey. No one, for instance, would have dreamt of travelling from Carlisle to London by the route of the Second Iter—over Stainmore to York, back over the hills to Manchester, on to Chester, and so by the Watling Street. On the other hand, the present theory suits the distances given in the text, and it makes the Iter begin at an important port: for such Ravenglass continued to be for many centuries.

It also gives us some assistance towards the solution of another problem, viz., on what system are the western stations *per lineam valli* arranged in the *Notitia* list? For if Glanoventa, Alone, and Bremetonacum are the same as Glannibanta, Alio, and Bremetenracum of the *Notitia*, we get three of those stations in a definite line. Taking into account the fact that in each list the three places occur in the same order, and allowing for some corruption of spelling in the *Notitia*, we are probably justified in concluding that the same places are referred

<sup>1</sup> This river, which rises near Scawfell, must be distinguished from the Border Esk, which runs into the Solway.

to in each case.<sup>1</sup> Whatever be the date of the *Itinerary*, it was compiled before the Twentieth Legion left Chester, and therefore before the *Notitia*. Some corruption of proper names is to be expected in the later list, and we see the process carried further in the lists given by the Ravenna geographer of a later century.

*The Notitia Utriusque Imperii* is a directory of imperial officials—civil and military—and the section dealing with Britain dates, as Mommsen has pointed out, from about A.D. 300. Very possibly it was compiled when Constantius reconquered the island in A.D. 296, after the independent rule of Carausius and Allectus. Britain had been severed from the Empire for nine years, and the Roman garrison must have needed a thorough reorganisation. The military officials in Britain were as follows :—

1. The commanders of the Second Legion (*Augusta*), one cohort, two bodies of cavalry, one body of *milites*, and four detachments described as *numeri*, under the *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, guarding the coast from the Wash to the Isle of Wight.
2. A number of commanders under the *Dux Britanniarum*.
3. The commanders *per lineam valli*, also under the *Dux Britanniarum*.

It is with the last two sections that we have to deal, and it is convenient to take the third section first.

Of the stations *per lineam valli*, the first twelve have been identified with certainty by means of inscriptions. Not that such records have been found at every station ; but when, for instance, the first and third yield inscriptions mentioning respectively the troops standing first and third on the list, the inference that the troop standing second occupied the intervening fort is irresistible. This brings us as far as Amboglanna (Birdoswald, near Gilsland), the first station in Cumberland, which was held by the *Cohors I Aelia Dacorum*. Beyond this point fewer inscriptions have been found, and their evidence is less trustworthy, because we lose the sequence.

<sup>1</sup> This is the view taken by Mr. Watkin (*Roman Lancashire*, Chap. ii), and Chancellor Ferguson (*History of Cumberland*, p. 25).

Some authorities have supposed that at this point the system was changed, and the sequence recommenced from the other end; but the conjecture seems unnecessary. It is generally admitted that *per lineam valli* does not imply that all the forts were actually on the Wall: if we are right in placing Glannibanta at Ravenglass, Alio at Watercrock, and Bremetenracum at Ribchester—and this last is confirmed by inscriptions—we get a *linea* of three. Can we connect this *linea* with that which we lose after Amboglanna?

The stations in question are as follows:—

1. Petriana,	garrisoned by the	Ala Petriana.
2. Aballaba	„ „	Numerus Maurorum Aureli- anorum.
3. Congavata	„ „	Cohors II Lingonum.
4. Axelodonum	„ „	Cohors I Hispanorum.
5. Gabrosentis	„ „	Cohors II Thracum.
6. Tunnocelum	„ „	Cohors I Aelia Classica.
7. Glannibanta	„ „	Cohors I Morinorum.
8. Alio	„ „	Cohors III Nerviorum.
9. Bremetenracum	„ „	Cuneus Sarmatarum. <sup>1</sup>
10. Olenacum	„ „	Ala I Herculeæ.
11. Virosidum	„ „	Cohors VI Nerviorum.

Now, there are two points to be noted:

(1) The *Notitia* merely states that the Prefect, or Tribune, of each particular corps was stationed at such-and-such a place, *i.e.*, that the place mentioned was the headquarters of the regiment. It is therefore possible that one regiment may have in some cases garrisoned more than one station, especially as the forts between Birdoswald and Bowness are of small area.

(2) When the *Notitia* list was compiled, the Roman garrison of Britain had been considerably reduced: the Twentieth Legion, once stationed at Chester, had left the country, and many auxiliary troops, whose names we know from inscriptions, had also been removed—a state of affairs consistent with the supposition that the list was compiled under Constantius; many regiments would be in disgrace, and it might be thought unwise to leave too large a garrison to support another pretender.

<sup>1</sup> MS., *Armaturarum*.

Leaving out of account the force under the *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, we find the Sixth Legion—which we know to have been stationed at York—three detachments described as *equites*, and ten described as *numeri*; and *per lineam valli* we have twenty-three regiments, of which fifteen were infantry cohorts, one a cohort of marines, five *ala* of cavalry, one *numerus*, and one *cuneus*, making in all thirty-seven bodies of troops. Now, on a rough estimate, if we exclude small or temporary camps, Northumberland has traces of fourteen, or possibly fifteen, Roman stations; Durham can show certainly five; Cumberland and Westmoreland together have at least twenty-three; Yorkshire at least fifteen, and Lancashire not less than six. Thus, the North of England possesses at least sixty-three Roman stations; and we know definitely that some of these were not garrisoned in *Notitia* times. In Northumberland, Bremenium and Habitancum—both north of the Wall—have been identified by inscriptions, and their names do not appear in the *Notitia*; in Durham, Vindomora and Vinovia are identified by the *Itinerary*; of the Yorkshire stations, the *Notitia* does not mention Cataractonium, Isurium, Calcaria, Cambodunum, or Legiolium; and the same applies to Mancunium. It is clear that about the year A.D. 300 a great many places were un-garrisoned, and we must try to find some clue to the system on which the remaining garrisons were distributed.

One fact is clear, viz., that the Wall from Wallsend to Birdoswald was fully garrisoned; and from this we may infer that Northumberland, from the sea up to and including the western hill country, was likely to give trouble. Was the same true of the district still further to the west? There is some evidence that even in Hadrian's time this latter region was less dangerous. If we take the 20 miles west of the North Tyne, we find seven forts with an average area of just over 4 acres; whilst west of Birdoswald the forts are smaller, and lie further apart. The average area of the stations at Walton House, Stanwix, and Burgh is  $2\frac{3}{4}$  acres; then comes Drumburgh ( $\frac{3}{4}$  acre), and finally the terminating station at Bowness ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  acres). This portion of the Wall,



then, covering about 25 miles, seems at the best of times to have been less strongly held; and it is possible that by A.D. 300 it was either abandoned altogether, or sparsely garrisoned by detachments sent from Amboglanna on the east, and Stanwix, or Old Carlisle, on the west.

The next station west of Amboglanna is Walton House,<sup>1</sup> but altars have been found there, dedicated by the *Cohors II Tungrorum*, which make it fairly certain that this place is not Petriana. In all probability the place took its name from the regiment, and not *vice versa*, and in any case the station was unsuitable for a large cavalry troop. Where we are to place Petriana is a different question. Inscriptions mentioning the *Ala Petriana* have been found—

1. At Hexham—a sepulchral monument.<sup>2</sup>
2. On a rock in the Irthing Valley.<sup>3</sup>
3. At Plumpton, about 12 miles south of Carlisle (the Voreda of the Second Iter)—a sepulchral monument to a retired soldier.<sup>4</sup>
4. At Carlisle—the last two lines of an inscription mentioning a Prefect of the *Ala Augusta Petriana Torquata miliaria civium Romanorum*.<sup>5</sup>

There is also in the Museum at the Chesters (Cilurnum) a milestone, which bears the following inscription:—

IMP . CAES . M . AVREL .  
SEVER . ALEXANDRO  
PI . FEL . AVG . P . M . TR . P .  
COS . P . P . CVR . C . XENEPHON  
TE LEG . AVG . PR . PR .  
A PET . M . XVIII .

This stone was found near Cawfields, just south of the Wall, not *in situ*, but lying on the ground with two others. Probably the three had been collected for use as gate-posts, and never carted away, and probably they stood originally on the Stanegate, a Roman road which ran from Cilurnum to Magna (Carvoran), and thence

<sup>1</sup> Also called Castlesteads, or Cambeck Fort.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce's *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 4th ed., 1895, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 402; Hübner, *Inscr. Brit.*, No. 872.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 794; Hübner, *Inscr. Brit.*, No. 323.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 498; Hübner, *Inscr. Brit.*, No. 929.

continued to Stanwix, this latter part being known anciently as the Karlel, or Carel, Gate. If this inscription has been correctly read, and if the stone originally stood by the Stanegate, somewhere near the place where it was found, the 18 miles would approximately bring us to Stanwix, where a sepulchral monument has been found, bearing the effigy of a horseman, and suggesting that the place was garrisoned by cavalry. The Stanwix fort was too small to have contained so large a regiment, but it may have been Petriana and the headquarters of the Prefect, a proportion of the troop being quartered elsewhere.

If Petriana be not Stanwix, we may possibly place it at Old Carlisle. This large station, from which roads radiated in all directions, thus making it an admirable post for a large cavalry regiment, has been little explored, but it has yielded inscriptions<sup>1</sup> mentioning an *Ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata*, and once we find the additional title *Gordiana*. This last is the latest inscription yet found on the site, dating from A.D. 242; the earliest dates from A.D. 188. We cannot certainly identify this *Ala Augusta* with the *Ala Petriana*, but the probabilities are by no means weak. During the third century titles of this kind were freely bestowed, and readily thrown off on the fall of the giver. For instance, the *Cohors I Dacorum*, in addition to their old title *Aelia*, also bore at various times the names *Gordiana*, *Postumiana*, and *Tetriciana*.<sup>2</sup> With such fine titles in fashion, the *Ala Petriana* may perhaps have grown ashamed of one derived merely from the name of the long-forgotten officer who originally raised the troop.<sup>3</sup>

The next station on the list is Aballaba. At Papcastle, near Cockermouth, are the remains of a Roman fort, where an inscription has been found, dating from A.D. 242. and mentioning the *Cuneus Frisiavonum Abal-*

<sup>1</sup> *Lapid. Septentr.*, Nos. 820-5, 827, 841; Hübner, Nos. 338, 341-2, 344-5, 351-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Lapid. Septentr.*, Nos. 352-3, 359-60; Hübner, Nos. 818-23.

<sup>3</sup> This is the opinion of Professor Henzen (*Inscr.* 5455, n. 4), approved by Böcking in his edition of the *Notitia*.

*lavenesium*.<sup>1</sup> This is not the troop given in the *Notitia*, which places at Aballaba the *Numerus Maurorum Aureliianorum*, possibly some of the Moorish cavalry which Aurelian used in the war against Zenobia; but the site fits the theory that the *linea valli* is continued. If we take the line of the Wall as it approaches Stanwix, and then, instead of bending north-west to the shores of the Solway, continue in the same direction, the continuation will, roughly speaking, run through Old Carlisle to Papcastle, and will practically coincide with the line of a known Roman road. From Papcastle roads radiated in many directions, and with a reduced force holding the country it would be a suitable post for a body of mobile troops.

Next we have to find a site for Congavata; and here, if anywhere, comes a break in the *linea*, but not in the system. We have had (1) a provision for holding in check the tribes of Northumberland, and (2) a provision for protecting and policing the plain of north Cumberland, and probably also for watching the northern half of the Lake District. The third necessity must have been the protection of the coast, which was exposed to the marauding expeditions of the Picts of Galloway and the Scots of the North of Ireland. If we can find sites for the next ensuing *Notitia* stations on the Cumberland coast, we go some way towards proving that the list is arranged on a definite system.

Having already placed Glannibanta at Ravenglass, we may expect to find sites for the four preceding stations—Congavata, Axelodunum, Gabrosentis, and Tunnocelum—on the coast north of that place. Starting from the Solway, we have the terminating Wall station at Bowness, possibly a fort near Skinburness, now lost in the sea, a fort at Malbray, another at Maryport, another at Burrow Walls, near Workington, and another at Moresby, near Whitehaven. Of these, Bowness may have been Congavata, but probably Malbray has a better title to the name. The flat marshy land on the southern shore of the Solway would hardly be worth holding, when

<sup>1</sup> *Lapid. Septentr.*, No. 907; Hübner, No. 415.

the army of occupation was weakened and troops could be better employed elsewhere. We must also remember that in all probability the danger to be guarded against at this period, and in this district, was not invasion on a large scale, but raids by mobile barbarians in quest of plunder. Parties fording the Solway could best be dealt with by cavalry, and possibly the protection of the Solway shore was left to a cavalry detachment at Old Carlisle; but raids from overseas would be on a somewhat larger scale, and in such cases an infantry regiment would be more effective, because it could seize the ships and wait for the marauders to be hunted back by the cavalry: either the Moors of Aballaba, or the cavalry attached to the Spanish cohort at Axelodunum.

Where, then, was Axelodunum, if Malbray be Congavata? About nine miles down the coast we come to a large station at Maryport, or Ellenborough, which has been identified as Axelodunum, on the strength of many inscriptions found here mentioning the *Cohors I Hispanorum*. The identification is not so certain as it appears at first sight, but it is probably correct. The Spanish cohort was certainly here in the time of Hadrian. In the reign of Antoninus Pius they were moved to Ardoch, in Scotland, and replaced at Maryport by a Dalmatian cohort, and afterwards by the 1st cohort of Baetasians, which the *Notitia* places at Regulbium. At a later time the Spaniards were withdrawn to Netherby, a few miles north of Carlisle, where they were stationed in A.D. 220; and when, owing to the reduction of the Roman forces in Britain, and the increasing raids on the Cumberland coast, it became necessary to abandon Netherby and concentrate troops further south, it was quite natural that the Spaniards should be sent back to their old quarters, partly perhaps for sentimental reasons, partly because they were a *cohors miliaria equitata*, and a large station would be needed to accommodate them. One altar found at Maryport possibly confirms this view. It is dedicated by the commander of the 1st cohort of Spaniards *Iovi Augusto*,<sup>1</sup> and Horsley ascribes it to the

<sup>1</sup> See *Lapid. Septentr.*, p. 429, etc.; Hübner, c. xxxiii.

time of Diocletian, who assumed the title *Iovius*, and often put *Iovi Augusto* on his coins. If Horsley is right, the point is conclusive, as the altar must be of about the same date as the *Notitia* list itself.

Now, if Maryport be Axelodunum and Ravenglass Glannibanta, there are only two sites left for the two intervening stations: Burrow Walls must be Gabrosentis and Moresby Tunnocelum. Inscriptions do not help us here, as Moresby has yielded records both of the *Cohors II Lingonum*, which the *Notitia* places at Congavata, and also of the *Cohors II Thracum*, which was stationed at Gabrosentis; but this is quite comprehensible if Moresby were Tunnocelum and a port where drafts for the neighbouring garrisons disembarked. A small natural harbour formerly existed here, and Tunnocelum, garrisoned by the *Cohors I Aelia Classica*, must have been a naval station, though not necessarily a commercial port. Chancellor Ferguson<sup>1</sup> placed Tunnocelum further north, near the anchorage known as St Catharine's Hole, on the ground that the latter was more accessible in all weathers; but oared galleys would be independent of such considerations, and Moresby would be a more convenient station for a squadron defending the Cumberland coast from pirates.

We now come to Glannibanta, which we have placed Ravenglass, and the next station is Alio, which on the same theory must be Watercrook, near Kendal—a suitable post for a force controlling the southern part of the Lake District. Bremetenracum, which follows, ought, accordingly, to be Ribchester, an identification confirmed by inscriptions. Here the *Notitia* places a *Cuneus Armaturarum*, but this is almost certainly a mistake for *Sarmatarum*. At Ribchester two inscriptions have been found,<sup>2</sup> mentioning respectively an *Ala Sarmatarum* and a *Numerus Equitum Sarmatarum*. Probably the regiment was originally an *ala*, and was subsequently reduced in size. We have no information as to the exact constitution of a *numerus* or a *cuneus*, but an inscription found

<sup>1</sup> *History of Cumberland*, p. 73.  
*Roman Lancashire*, Ohap. v.

at Bremenium<sup>1</sup> seems to show that a *numerus* was a smaller body than a cohort, and possibly a *cuneus* was smaller still. The inscription in question is on an altar dedicated by the *Cohors I Vardullorum* and the *Numerus Exploratorum Bremenensium*, and the area of the High Rochester station is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres. Only a comparatively small body could have shared the accommodation of Bremenium with the Vardulli, who were a *cohors miliaria equitata*.

The only remaining stations are Olenacum and Virosidum. Where these places were, we can only guess; but it seems not unlikely that the *linea* was continued, and that they were part of a ring of stations encircling that great mass of wild hill-country known to geography books as the Pennine Range. Judging by other stations, one would expect the *Ala Herculea* to be posted at a spot where several roads met, and a not unlikely site for Olenacum is Wilderspool, near Warrington. In that case, if the *linea* be continued eastwards, either Melandra Castle or Brough, near Buxton, might be Virosidum.

It has been suggested that there was a ring of Roman garrisons controlling or policing the wild hill-country which stretches from the Peak to Northumberland. We know that during the English invasion of the fifth and sixth centuries this district was a place of refuge for the Romanised Britons who were driven from the plain of York, and the Celtic inhabitants of Elmet maintained their independence long after the English had conquered the rest of Yorkshire. It must have served the same purpose after Agricola's campaigns; and it is possible that the hill-tribes remained in a state of semi-independence under their own chiefs, and, like the Scottish Highlanders of a later time, occasionally raided the richer lowlands. To such elements of disorder would be added the fugitives and broken men produced by the anarchy and confusion of the latter part of the third century. Does not this suggest a clue to the disposition of the troops mentioned in the second section of the *Notitia* list?

This section includes the Sixth Legion, quartered at York, and thirteen bodies of auxiliary troops. Of the

<sup>1</sup> *Lapid. Septentr.*, No. 552: Hübner, No. 1,030.

stations occupied by the latter, we can identify Danum as Doncaster, and Lavatræ as Bowes. Veterum, or Veneris, is certainly a corruption of Verteræ (Brough under Stainmore), and Braboniacum is probably Kirby Thore. These last three stand in this order on the list, and occur in the same order on the great road from York to Carlisle, a coincidence which suggests that this list also is arranged *per lineam*. If so, we must look for the unidentified sites in regular order.

The list begins with Præsidium, occupied by a troop of Dalmatian cavalry. We have no clue to its position, but a likely site is Brough, on the north shore of the Humber. A Roman road led from York to this place, which is opposite the termination of the road running north from Lindum; and it would be strange if, while guarding the Saxon shore, the Romans had no garrison on the Humber, which in later times was so often the landing-place of invaders.

This brings us by a natural sequence to Danum (Doncaster), occupied by the *Equites Crispiani*, whose duty probably was to watch the neighbouring fens and marshes. We know from the exploits of Hereward the Wake what shelter such country could afford to fugitives and outlaws. Next, if we follow up the Don for about fourteen miles, we come to Templeborough. This may be Morbium, where the *Equites Catafractarii* were stationed. Originally *Catafractarii* were men in complete heavy armour, and horsemen so burdened might seem out of place in the Sheffield district; but probably by the end of the third century they were *catafractarii* only in name. We learn from Vegetius<sup>1</sup> that in the time of Gratian (A.D. 367-383), even the infantry of the legions asked to be relieved of the *cataphracta* (body-armour), and then of the shield; and probably a corps of auxiliary and possibly irregular cavalry had unburdened itself at a much earlier date.

Next on the list is Arbeia, a name with a curiously eastern sound, garrisoned by a *numerus* of *Barcarii Tigrienses*. About twenty miles north-west from Templeborough, in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, we

<sup>1</sup> *Lib. I, c. 20.*

find two forts—at Slack and at Almondbury. The former is usually identified with the *Cambodunum* of the Second Iter, and Almondbury may be *Arbeia*. About twenty miles further north we find an undoubted Roman site at Ilkley, which may accordingly be *Dictis*, the station of the *Numerus Nerviorum Dictensium*. A further distance of twenty-eight miles in much the same direction brings us to Wensleydale, where we find the remains of a Roman fort at Bainbridge near Askrigg. This may be *Concan-gium*, where a *Numerus* of *Vigiles* was posted. Fifteen miles further, and we come to Bowes, which from the *Itinerary* we know to be *Lavatræ*, and *Lavatræ*, with a *Numerus* of *Exploratores*, stands next on the *Notitia* list. So we proceed over Stainmore to *Verteræ* (Brough), where a *Numerus* of *Directores* was stationed; and then to *Braboniacum* (Kirby Thore), where the *Notitia* places a *Numerus* of *Defensores*.

We have now four stations left—*Maglova*, held by the *Numerus Solensium* (possibly *Cypriotes* or *Cilicians*), *Magæ*, held by the *Numerus Pacensium* (these may have come from *Pax Julia* in *Lusitania*, from *Forum Julii*, also called *Pacensis Colonia*, or from a place of the same name in *Thrace*), *Longovicum*, held by the *Numerus Longovicariorum*, and *Derventio*, held by the *Numerus Derventionenses*. Now, *Longovicum* is probably *Lanchester*, in *Durham*. Some years ago an altar was found there, with an inscription mentioning a *vexillatio Sueborum Longordiana*. *Lon.* seems to stand for *Longovicaria*; and though the expansion is not free from uncertainty, if the list is arranged systematically, *Longovicum* must be somewhere in this neighbourhood.

We must now try to find sites for *Maglova* and *Magæ* somewhere between *Kirby Thore* and *Lanchester*. If we follow the *Maiden Way* from *Kirby Thore* over the hills to the *South Tyne* valley, we reach the Roman station of *Whitley Castle*, which may be *Maglova*. From this place an ancient road led over the hills into *Allendale*, and seems to have continued in an easterly direction till it joined the *Dere Street* (the road of the *First Iter*) at the bridge end opposite *Corstopitum*. Near this road, at a place called *Old Town*, in *Allendale*, the traces of a



Roman fort have been observed, and this may be Magæ. The country here is very wild and rugged, and possibly there was a mining industry to be protected. From Old Town, Lanchester is twenty-five miles distant across the hills, and occupies a site well suited for a corps controlling the wild country of West Durham. Only Derventio remains, and one is strongly tempted to fix it at Ebchester, on the Derwent, a few miles north of Lanchester; for this *linea* would thus terminate at a point only fifteen miles from Wallsend, where the *Item per lineam valli* section begins. However, in that case we are forced to imagine a change of name, since the *Itinerary* shows Ebchester to have been Vindomora. It is safer to suppose that Derventio was on the Yorkshire Derwent. It may be the same as the Derventio of the First Iter, which seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Stamford Bridge. In this way we round off the circle: we began at York, and at York we finish.





## RELICS OF THE OLD CORNISH LANGUAGE.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

(Read May 16th, 1906.)



HERE is one class of antiquities in England of a philological nature, which is almost unique in Europe: I mean, the relics of an ancient language. Nowhere, except in England, I believe, can we even fix any death-place of a language. One of the reasons for this is that languages die so hard: the only European language, besides the Cornish, that has died out in modern times is the Prussian, and I question if we can fix the time or place of its expiring.

As to the dying languages of Europe, none expired in the nineteenth century, and I rather question if any will die in the twentieth: unless, at least, the strong feeling of nationality which now prevails in the smaller nations of Europe, and which seems to be growing rather than declining, should suddenly yield and die out. Most of these lesser languages are more vigorous now than in the middle of the nineteenth century. A hundred years ago, one might have prophesied that they would expire before the twentieth century, but now they are very vigorous. Political reasons and the spirit of nationality have much to do with this.

1. The Lithuanian.—I lately had in my house a ball-ticket in Lithuanian, used in London. Even in this metropolis, Lithuanian is used by some hundreds of persons. In its own country it is used by tens of thousands, and a literature is rising in it.

2. As for Wendish, it has its literature, magazines, and

newspaper. National spirit supports this Slavonic language in the heart of Germany.

3. As for Manx, only lately there was a petition to the Education Department for grants for teaching Manx in the Isle of Man schools. The title of the laws decreed by the House of Keys are read in Manx at the Tynwald.

4. As for Irish, it is far more vigorous than some years ago. In London, I see Irish bills in the old Erse alphabet.

5. Mordvinian is lively still, although the Russian Government seeks to stamp it out.

6. Servian and Bulgarian are safer than ever, as being now the languages of established and independent nations.

We had a lively reminder of the vigorous life of the Celtic languages of Western Europe at the Pan-Celtic Congress of 1904. There were gathered in the charming old Welsh town of Carnarvon ("the chief eagle of the eagles of Snowdonia") the representatives of the six Celtic nationalities of Western Europe:—

1. The Welsh ; 2. The Breton ; 3. The Cornish—of the Brythonic group. 4. The Irish ; 5. The Scottish Highlanders ; 6. The Manx—of the Goidelic group.

The Cornish had not been recognised at the Dublin Congress, but was accepted at Carnarvon, and will be noted among the six races of the Celts.

I may say that, in my opinion, this is not an exhaustive list of the Celtic races of Europe.

1. The old Gauls of France were true Goidels, although now Latinized and mixed with other races. The greatest Celtic nation of Europe is really the French. In Cornwall one is often reminded of this : the country-folk, especially the agriculturalists, are in many ways and customs, and in physical aspect, like the French peasants, *i.e.*, those of true Gallic descent.

2. The Walloons of Belgium are Celts, but their nationality is obscured. The Walloon tongue is like French, and is being superseded by it.

3. The Cumbrians are a vestige of the Strathclyde Celts, but now nearly absorbed in the English.

All this shows the interest we have in the last relics of

the old Cornu-British language, which marks the existence of an ancient race in England, distinct from the Anglo-Saxons, but also not the same as the Welsh. What was the origin of this race? I have dealt with this problem already in my paper on "The Mining Tribes of Ancient Britain." I suspect the Cornish are the descendants of the ancient Damnonii, the "old men"—as miners call them—of the western peninsula of Britain. These Damnonii were, I suspect, a mixed race, partly of the ancient Euskarian mining tribes—the cromlech-builders, who spread at one time not only over the western coast of Europe, but over North Africa and Central Asia (to judge by Ferguson's records of their monuments)—and partly of the Celtic Britons of the Brythonic tribes, many of whom seem to have taken refuge in Devon and Cornwall from the Roman and still more from the Saxon conquerors of Britain. It is with the linguistic relics of this ancient race that I would now deal. It is in ethnology one of the most interesting regions in Europe—a mingling of the aboriginal race of the western horn of Great Britain with the Brythonic race of the Celtic Aryans.

The existing relics of the Cornish language may be thus summarized:—

I. The manuscripts of the Cornish Dramas, and the Epic of Mount Calvary. (All these are published.)

II. Certain writings, some printed and some still in manuscript, of the language in its later stage.

III. The names of places.

IV. The names of families: "Tre, Pol, and Pen," etc.

V. The tradition of the numerals and some words.

VI. The Celtic words absorbed in the Cornish dialect—words not "naughty English," as Andrew Borde called them, but true Celtic words.

## I.

As for literary records, I must only briefly give their chief heads, since I have already dealt with this topic.

## A.—The Scriptural Dramas.

- |                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. The Creation.     | 4. The <i>Mors Pilati</i> . |
| 2. The Passion Play. | 5. The Ascension.           |
| 3. The Resurrection. |                             |

B.—Then we have *Jordans Creacon*, the last Cornish drama of 1611, in the reign of James I.

C.—The last-discovered Cornish drama is the *Beunans Meriasek*, with which is bound up the "Life of St. Sylvester" (dealing with Constantine the Great), and the "Woman and her Son"—a little interlude.

These all exist in manuscript, but have been published and translated into English. On them chiefly rests our academic knowledge of Cornish, and on them are mainly founded the Cornish Grammars of Norris and of Zeuss, the *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* of Williams, the Cornish Dictionary of Dr. Jago, and, above all, the valuable Manual of the Cornish Language of Mr. Jenner.

There is thus quite a little literature of Cornish, even though the language is dead. Yet for academic and philological purposes it has been preserved (like a mummy in a museum), and we now know nearly all we can expect to know about Cornish. If anything has yet to be discovered, it probably will be merely by the careful comparison of Cornish with other Celtic languages. This was done to some extent by Mr. Williams in 1865, in his elaborate and learned *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*; but, unfortunately, that great work was published before the discovery of the *Beunans Meriasek*, and possibly the manuscripts still existing and unprinted may add a little. I question if we can ever expect to know much more than we do of this obscure subject. I may suggest, however, that some of the seeming complexities of Cornish may be due to the fact that the records we have are of divers ages, and so represent the language in divers states of development or degeneration.

## II.—CORNISH MANUSCRIPTS.

The subject of Cornish manuscripts yet unprinted, in the British Museum and elsewhere, is of more special interest

to archæologists than the published works in and on the Cornish language.

Of these, probably the Gwavas manuscripts in the British Museum are the most important. They include several Cornish letters by John Boson, Gwavas, and others, a copy of the "Creation," a Cornish vocabulary, etc. Some of these have not yet been printed. They mostly belong to the later period of the language, from 1693 to 1741, when William Gwavas died. It is very desirable that these manuscripts should be printed, with proper editing and translation. Until this is done, they cannot be available to all Celtic scholars throughout Europe.

I may remind you that these scholars are not confined to Great Britain; they are not only Englishmen or Welshmen, or learned Gaelic or Irish scholars, but also—

1. In France there is much enthusiasm for Celtic researches. In them we can find the clue to some of the obscurer points of early French or Gallic ethnology and history. The *Revue Celtique*, of Paris, is one of the most important of the Celtic magazines of Europe. Also we should remember that the Cornish language, when most neglected and despised, had as its chief patron and student a Frenchman, Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who put up the tomb to Dolly Pentreath, the last woman, it is commonly supposed, who talked Cornish fluently.

2. As in almost every science, we are much indebted to learned Germans for Cornish studies, and Prof. Zeuss did much in his *Grammatica Celtica*.

3. Some Slavonic scholars have shown enthusiasm in Celtic studies at the Carnarvon Congress, though how far they have added to our knowledge is a moot point.

About 1880, Mr. William C. Borlase, a Cornish M.P., agitated for a Cornish Manuscript Society, for publishing and preserving Cornish manuscripts. The scheme fell through, but may well be renewed. Until there is such a society, with sufficient funds at its disposal, we cannot hope for the permanent printing and re-editing of all the Cornish manuscripts. Some of them have small literary value, and only represent the later stages of the language. Still, they are of some philological and historic worth, and are of interest to all archæologists.

## III.—THE NAMES OF PLACES.

In these we have the most striking and obvious record of the old tongue, such as might strike the "man in the street" if he came to Cornwall. Everywhere, when one passes the Tamar (the border of England, "beyond which is Cornwall," as an old geographer said), one meets strange and most un-English names. The names of the parishes—*i.e.*, St. Mellion, St. Ive, St. Botus Fleming, St. Urney—are mostly old Celtic saints, the biographies of some of whom can be traced in Welsh, Cornish, or Breton hagiographies, but some are still obscure or doubtful. Let me give a few of our Cornish saints :—

1. St. Perran, or Kieran, to whom there are four parishes dedicated—the *doyen* of Cornish saints, a wonderful Irish missionary, about whom many legends are told, and to whom is dedicated the oldest church in South Britain—Perranzabuloe—and three other parish churches.

2. St. Germo, or Germoeh, the Irish king and bishop.

3. St. Breage, his sister, the Irish saintly princess.

4. The children and grandchildren of good King Brechan, most famed of whom is his daughter St. Keyne, so zealous for woman's rights in the sixth century, and who has been popularised by a well-known ballad.

5. St. Buryan, or Burnsech, an Irish princess.

6. St. Ive, an Irish princess and martyr.

7. St. Mewen and St. Issy.

8. St. Mullion, a Breton saint.

9. St. Carantoc, St. Cuby, St. Ruan, etc.

It may be said that most of these saints, though Celtic, were not actually Cornish. But (1) St. Constantine, whose name is Latin, but who was King of Cornwall; (2) St. Gerrans, or Gerontius, "the glorious king of Damnonium," to whom St. Aldhelm wrote his famous epistle; and (3) St. Mylor and St. Nunn, seem to be the chief true Cornish saints, born and bred in the county, if we exclude St. David, who, though of Welsh parentage, seems to have been brought up in Cornwall.

The secular names, however, lie about as bones of the dead language on the linguistic battle-field. There they

are as skeletons of the old Celtic speech. Nearly all the Cornish chief towns have Celtic names:—

1. Penzance—the holy headland.
2. Truro—*Tre-ru*—the three roads.
3. Redruth—dubious, but clearly Celtic, possibly *Tre-druith*: the town of the Druids, or oaks.
4. Liskeard—the town of the trials.
5. Bodmin—the house of the monks.

I venture to note these with trepidation, for I know that the *odium philologicum* is as fierce as the *odium theologicum*, especially as to derivation. It was the fear of this terrible odium, I expect, that awed Dr. Bannister in his elaborate work on Cornish names to give two or three derivations to the same name. This spoils the value of his painstaking work; for what people want is some definite clue as to what Dr. Bannister believed to be the true derivation of each name.

I believe many of the Cornish names are plain enough, if you have even a small knowledge of the language. Take some in my old parish of Carnmenellis.

1. Boquio, a quaint name, but simple—the house by, or in, the wood.
2. Pencoyls—the hill in the wood.
3. Carnmenellis—the pile of rocks on the green hill.
4. Polmarth—the horse-pool.
5. Polmear—the pool by the rocks.
6. Menherion—the place of *menhirs*.

It is very fascinating to me, when walking over the lonely Cornish moors, to ask the names and, as it were, talk to the “old men of the past” about their meanings. The long dead of 500 or 1,000, or even 2,000, years ago, still speak in them, in weird, quaint words of the extinct Brythonic tongue, their descriptions of the surroundings one is passing through. It is like an antique guide-book, often poetical in tone, describing the wild Cornish scenery in the wild old Celtic words of a forgotten past.

In Wales the Celtic names strike one less. The country is still—in part at least—a Welsh-speaking land. English has not superseded Welsh, nor is Welsh forgotten. But for all that, many a town has both a Welsh and an English name, and the English is the only one the



stranger hears. In Cornwall we have one instance of the double name—Dunheved and Launceston, but the Saxon here prevails. Elsewhere the Celtic survives, save in Falmouth, which is a modern English port, dating its importance from the later Stuart epochs and the Falmouth packets.

In some cases, against all laws of philological propriety, both English and Cornish names are added together, *e.g.*, Castle-an-Dinas. *Dinas* is Cornish for castle, but the English translation is added.

#### IV.—THE NAMES OF FAMILIES.

The old West Country proverb, dating from the Middle Ages, says—

“Tre, Pol, and Pen,  
By which you know the Cornishmen.”

Camden suggested an improvement in this—

“By Tre, Ros, Pol, Lan, Caer, and Pen  
You may know the most Cornishmen.”

But it was too cumbrous, and the simple form has survived to the twentieth century. The Tres, the Pols, and the Pens are well known by their names; but it is curious that Tre, Pol, and Pen are prefixes to place-names, and the application to people comes from the names of estates.

Many Cornish names, however, are not place- but Christian names, just as in Wales the Roberts, the Williams, the Richards, and the Johns prevail. The Saxon was called after his trade, the Celt by his place- or his ancestor's Christian name. Still, some Cornish names are trade-names. The name Angwin is Smith in Cornish, but some hold that it was connected with the smithy.

A book has been published on Cornish patronymics.

#### V.—SURVIVALS OF PHRASES.

Very few sentences of Cornish survived into the nineteenth century, but in the eighteenth the language must have been spoken in the west of Penwith. The process of dying out I have already explained before our Association, but I may briefly summarise the distinct periods of decay.

1. In the reign of Henry VIII the language was living and vigorous. At an earlier date, *i.e.*, in the Middle Ages, it was spoken in the South Hams of Devon, as well as in Cornwall, and on both banks of the Tamar. It was probably as much diffused as Welsh is now in Wales.

2. At the Reformation the enforcement of the English Liturgy gave a great blow to the Cornish language. Had the Bible been translated into Cornish, and the Prayer Book used in Cornish, the language might have survived much longer. But to this day the Bible (even the Gospels) has never been fully translated into Cornish. The Cornish rebels of 1549 made the English Liturgy a grievance. As late as 1640, nearly a hundred years later, Mr. Jackson administered the sacrament in Cornish at Feock.

3. At the end of Elizabeth's reign, Carew noted that the Cornish language was nearly dying out in 1602. But then he was an East Cornish gentleman, and probably knew little of out-of-the-way places in West Cornwall.

4. Norden remarks that Cornish folk used the language in 1610 amongst themselves in the family, but English for strangers. This reminds me of my experience at Port Erin, in the Isle of Man, where our lodginghouse folk talked Manx among themselves, but English to us. In 1611 Jordan's *Creacon* was written, the last Cornish drama.

5. The Civil Wars are said to have destroyed Cornish in most parts of the county. The soldiers, whether Cavaliers or Roundheads, all talked English.

6. In 1678 it seems that the last Cornish sermon was preached at Landewednack.

7. In 1701 Lhuyd says that in only five or six villages near Land's End was Cornish spoken.

8. Dr. Borlase thought, in 1758, that it had died out of conversation, but this view was premature.

9. In 1768 Daines Barrington sought for living survivals of the Cornish language, and had his famous interview with Dolly Pentreath. How far that aged lady knew Cornish I will not try to decide, but certainly some people at Newlyn and Mousehole could understand,

and even speak, a little of the Cornish language. William Bodener, of Mousehole, wrote in Cornish in 1776, and said that four or five old people there still spoke Cornish. The actual date of the death of the language is difficult to fix, but we kept the centenary of the death of Old Cornish at Paul in 1876, a very interesting event.

When the language died out (crushed by fashion mainly, I believe, for it was called "barbarous, uncouth, and vulgar") the literary survival, or, I may say, revival, began.

1. Lhuyd, in 1707, took a prime move in this by publishing a Cornish grammar.

2. The Gwavas manuscripts, by Gwavas, Pender, Tonkin, and others, from 1711 onwards. They have not yet all been published, but have been a basis for research preserving the last stage of the language.

3. In 1790 Pryce published his book founded on Tonkin, or actually plagiarised from him.

4. In the early part of the nineteenth century, little was done to preserve the old language, except by Davies Gilbert.

5. In 1859 Norris published his Cornish grammar.

6. In 1865 one of the greatest events in the history of the revival took place in the publication of Williams's *Lexicon Cornu Britannicum*. This is still the most important work on Cornish, though unfortunately published before the discovery of the *Beunans Meriasek*. It contains 9,000 words.

7. In 1869 was this discovery of the *Beunans Meriasek* and the *Vita Sancti Sylvestri* in Cornish, at Peniarth, in Wales.

8. In 1876 we had, at Paul, our centenary of the old Cornish language, which somewhat revived the interest in the ancient tongue. Archbishop Benson took some interest in Cornish while Bishop of Truro. A prize was offered for traditions of Cornish, which was divided between Mr. Bernard Victor and Mr. W. Pentreath.

9. Dr. Jago's *English-Cornish Dictionary* marks a development at the end of the nineteenth century. By it students can easily get a notion of what the Cornish language was like.

10. In the twentieth century the chief events, almost simultaneous in 1904, were (a) the Pan-Celtic Congress at Carnarvon, where the Cornish were recognised by their fellow-Celts as a Celtic people; and (b) Mr. H. Jenner's valuable manual, which brings together the accumulated information on the Cornish grammar, and sets it in the light of twentieth-century philology. It is practically the last word on the subject, and is quite up to date.

But in addition to this literature, what are the traditions of the language among the Cornish people? The last sentence in common use in the nineteenth century among the fishermen was the fishers' cry:—

*"Breal meta truja peswartha, pempthes whethes."*

All is scrawed all along the line, oh!

This died out, I believe, in living memory. Jacky Kelynach, of Newlyn, said it was common in the early part of the nineteenth century. The last sentence in domestic use was recorded to me by Mr. Bernard Victor. It was used at Mousehole, as a sort of lullaby for children, early in the nineteenth century.

How late the Cornish greeting *Deu gena why* (God be with you) survived, I cannot tell. Some say it still survives. The question is, in folk-lore, to distinguish survival from revival: an old custom may have actually died out, and then from antiquarian interest be revived. For instance, the May *fêtes* were dying out—if not dead—in many parts of England some thirty years ago; but now, in 1906, they have been rather grandly celebrated in many places. In Italy I have sometimes been puzzled when I have seen some custom mentioned in the Roman classics. Was it a survival from old Rome all down the ages? Or is it a patriotic revival, by fairly educated Italians, of the ancient customs tinted with their country's most glorious memories? So in Cornwall, there may be a revival as well as a survival of a sentence like this, just as I have known educated Cornishmen deliberately use the Cornish name for a thing (*e.g.*, *chill*, for a lamp), instead of the accepted English word.

The chief survivals, however, are the numerals. Many old persons in Newlyn and Mousehole remembered these in 1890; and I persuaded some to teach their grand-

children. So I believe this tradition lingers on, and, as interest in the subject increases, may be transformed from a survival to a revival.

The Cornish numerals are<sup>1</sup> :—

- |             |                 |
|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. Oin.     | 12. Dorthack.   |
| 2. Den.     | 13. Porthack.   |
| 3. Try.     | 14. Pewarthack. |
| 4. Padjer.  | 15. Pempthack.  |
| 5. Pemp.    | 16. Whethack.   |
| 6. Wheth.   | 17. Seithack.   |
| 7. Seyth.   | 18. Eithack.    |
| 8. Eith.    | 19. Naunjack.   |
| 9. Nau.     | 20. Igans.      |
| 10. Deig.   | 100. Cant.      |
| 11. Unjack. |                 |

Note here that the numerals after 15 differ from Welsh, showing that Cornish was a real language, not a dialect of Cymric. Also, it seems to have had a genitive, making another distinction from a caseless language.

## VI.—WORDS.

The truest survival of the language and its best relics are in words still in common use. These are words the English equivalents of which have never been learnt. They refer mostly to (a) Animals, (b) Plants, (c) Trade terms, (d) Domestic terms, and (e) Exclamations.

I supposed that there were some 200 Celtic words in common use, but I now believe there are more. Under the letters *a*, *b*, and *c*, I can find over 100, which, I believe, are derived from old Cornish, and also are still used. These may be called the bones of the old language, now dead, but leaving its skeleton behind it. They are not English Dialectic words, but Cornu-British survivals.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the list given by Chancellor Ferguson (*History of Cumberland*, p. 18) of the numerals used till recently for sheep-scoring in the Lake District :—

- |             |                     |                       |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Yan.     | 8. Hovera.          | 15. Bumfit.           |
| 2. Tyan.    | 9. Dovera.          | 16. Yan-a-bumfit.     |
| 3. Tethera. | 10. Dick.           | 17. Tyan-a-bumfit.    |
| 4. Methera. | 11. Yan-a-dick.     | 18. Tether-a-bumfit.  |
| 5. Pimp.    | 12. Tyan-a-dick.    | 19. Methera-a-bumfit. |
| 6. Sether.  | 13. Tether-a-dick.  | 20. Giggot.           |
| 7. Lethera. | 14. Methera-a-dick. |                       |

To illustrate the use of words:—

1. My own children said they thought *Murrian* was English for ant. It is Cornu-British. Compare the Greek *μύρμηξ*.

2. *Bal maiden* is the universal term for a mine girl; but *Bal* is Celtic, not English. "Going to *Bal*" is a common term for going to the mine.

3. *Padzhypou* does not sound English. When I was at St. Erth with a friend, I saw a lizard, and said, "There is a *padzhypou*." "John, see the *padzhypou*!" said a girl close by. It was her word for lizard also.

4. *Polcronach*, for limpet, is much used. *Pol*, pool, and *cronach*, toad; the toad of the pool.

I hope that the Cornish Education Committee will not try to stamp out vestiges of the old Celtic Cornu-British tongue from common use, or call them vulgar and provincial. They are not vulgar, for they are not understood elsewhere, except perhaps in Wales and Brittany. They are not provincial, for they are national—interesting relics of a half-forgotten past, of a little nationality of half Celtic, half Damnonian, mining tribes, who are among the most important races of Great Britain, and have done a good share in building up the British Empire.

As our Association is jealous to preserve antiquities of a material character, so I hope that its influence may tend to increase the appreciation of the ancient Cornu-British tongue, and to hinder the process of stamping out, which belongs rather to barbarism than to civilization, in the case of the vestiges of any ancient language.

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#### APPENDIX.

##### SPECIMENS OF LIVING CORNU-BRITISH WORDS, BEGINNING WITH A, B, AND C.

Addle pool, cess pool. *Atal*, refuse—Cornu-Celtic.

Agar, ugly.

Anec, harvest. *Cf.* Irish *anaic*.

Ardar, a plough. *Den ardar*, ploughman.

Arish, geese.

Arrish, mow, a pile of sheaves.

Azue, a dry cow. *Seh*, dry—C.-C.

Bal, a mine.

Balin, thrashing. *Bal*, plague—C.-C.  
 Ballymuck, an ill-constructed thing.  
 Bilders, hemlock.  
 Biscan, finger of a leather glove. *Bis*, finger—C.-C.  
 Bod, a louse. *Baawhoe*, C.-C.  
 Bowgey, a shed. *Bod*, a house—C.-C.  
 Brit, small fish.  
 Brythal, trout.  
 Brythel, mackerel. *Brith*, mottled—C.-C.  
 Buck, fungus in dairies. *Bucca*, evil spirits—C.-C.  
 Buccaboo, a goblin.  
 Buddle, a mine pit. *Buddal*, to draw—C.-C.  
 Buzza, a pan.  
 Cabbed, a thing dirtied by handling.  
 Cader, a frame of wood, a chair; *e.g.*, Cader Mighel, the  
     Chair of St. Michael, on St. Michael's Mount.  
 Cake, a fool.  
 Calcar, Lesser weaver or lance fish.  
 Cam, fluor spar. *Cam*, crooked—C.-C.  
 Canker, a crab.  
 Caper longer, razor fish  
 Care, mountain ash.  
 Carn, a heap of stones.  
 Chammy, a toothless person.  
 Cheel vean, a little child.  
 Chewidden Day, White Thursday. *Jen*, day; *widden*,  
     white—C.-C.  
 Chill, lamp.  
 Choog, a pig.  
 Cloppy, lame.  
 Click, to stoop.  
 Collybran, lightning.  
 Cop, a tuft.  
 Costan, a basket.  
 Cowal, a fish-basket. *Canwal*, a basket—C.-C.  
 Crellas, a British hut-circle.  
 Cresvid, underdone.  
 Crow, a sty.  
 Crum, bent.



# British Archaeological Association.

## SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONGRESS, NOTTINGHAM, 1906.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 25TH, TO TUESDAY, JULY 31ST, 1906.

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## Proceedings of the Congress.

UNDER the Presidency of CHARLES E. KEYSER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., President of the Association, the SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONGRESS was held at Nottingham—a most admirable centre, from which visits were paid to many places in the district.

While the city of Nottingham presents at first sight no very ancient or remarkable features, yet upon careful examination it is found to be teeming with points of deep archæological interest which well repay close study, and which, it is to be hoped, some of our local members may be induced to investigate more fully.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 25TH, 1906.

The Proceedings were opened by a Meeting at the Exchange, when the Associates and others taking part in the Congress were welcomed by the President of the Association, who in a brief speech alluded to some of the places to be visited, and expressed the hope that an enjoyable week would be spent.

The rest of the afternoon was devoted to an inspection of various parts of the city, the first place visited being the Church of St. Mary. It may be fairly assumed that this church stands on the site of the Saxon church which is mentioned in *Domesday Book*, and the lower portion of an Early English pier has been found, on which the present Perpendicular work has been erected. The present structure would seem to have been completed during the early years of the sixteenth century, as Leland mentions that "the Church of St. Mary is excellent new and uniform in work"; and although much restoration has been done, an interesting example of Perpendicular work is to be seen. In passing, we would draw attention to the fact that although Nottingham was renowned in the Middle Ages for its carvers in alabaster, yet it is singularly poor in specimens of their work. St. Peter's Church was next visited, and the communion plate exhibited. It consists of two late seventeenth-century flagons of simple design and excellent proportions, two chalices and patens of rather later date than the

flagons, exhibiting a simplicity and elegance of outline not often adopted at that period. Here again the hand of the restorer has been at work, and the chancel, which is entirely modern, was built to replace that destroyed by the Governor of the Castle—Colonel Hutcheson—during the Civil War. The oldest part of the building extant is the south aisle, which is of the Decorated period.

The Castle and Art Museum were then visited, and the various points in the fortifications were explained by Mr. I. C. Gould, F.S.A.; who expressed the opinion that probably the site was originally an example of an early promontory fort, with later additions of the Norman and Edwardian periods. In the Museum Mr. St. Clair Baddeley kindly gave some particulars relating to the objects found at the explorations undertaken by Lord Saville in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Nemi. The rock-cellars in Brewhouse Yard next claimed attention, and a few notes were read by Mr. J. G. N. Clift, who pointed out that their origin was partly natural and partly artificial, and that they might be considered to have been occupied before Roman times, though of course they had been altered and enlarged at various periods. The whole site of the town seems to be honeycombed with caves and passages in the rock. The remains of the rock-cut chapel and cells called in the Foundation deed "St. Mary Le Roche," with its curious dovecote, called forth much comment; and it was stated that the cells and chapel were constructed and used as a place of retreat in connection with the Priory of Lenton. At the subsequent evening meeting the President showed a most complete series of excellent lantern-slides, illustrating the Norman architecture of the county, and a good discussion ensued on several points raised by Mr. Keyser during his explanation of the views.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 26TH, 1906.

A most glorious day. After reaching Mansfield by train, the members travelled by brake through fine country. The fragmentary remains of King John's palace at Clipstone were inspected, and Ollerton was reached in time for luncheon. This was followed by a most pleasant drive through Sherwood Forest, and so to Mansfield, whence the train was taken to Nottingham. In the evening Mr. I. C. Gould, F.S.A., read a paper on "Some Nottinghamshire Strongholds," illustrated by drawings showing the various types, and dealing with the subject in the most admirably lucid manner.

FRIDAY, JULY 27TH, 1906.

The party travelled by train to Newark, and proceeded to the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, which was described by Mr. Cornelius Brown. It is a great pity that the time devoted to this noble structure was so curtailed. It is a story in stone, the reading of which would have been of the most absorbing interest; every feature has its history, every stone its tale, to be read by one having the understanding. It is the production of artists who seem to have breathed their souls into the work of other men, designing, directing, and correcting the work of the humbler hands that hewed and shaped the stone. Rarely is it given to man to realise in brute masonry the dreams that are conceived in his innermost being; but in this church we have a monument of what men were when work was wrought by loving hands to the greater glory of God.

In Saxon times, and for perhaps a century after the Conquest, a humble edifice, of which no trace remains, occupied part of the site; and about 1160 it was given to the Gilbertine Priory of St. Katherine at Lincoln by Robert de Chesney, Bishop of that diocese. A more ambitious structure seems then to have been commenced, and the crypt and the crossing piers at the intersection of the nave and transepts still remain. The western tower, a fine example of Early English work, was commenced about 1230; and except that a fifteenth-century window has been inserted, it is unaltered. The top stage of the tower and the spire were added about ninety years later; they are in the Decorated style, and form a fitting finish to this most beautiful piece of work. The Sanctus bell-cote at the west end of the chancel roof is worthy of note.

The south aisle of the nave—a fine piece of Decorated work—is the next in point of age, and the windows exhibit tracery of great beauty. It was begun in pursuance of a licence issued in February, 1313, by Archbishop Grenfield, when it would appear that the rebuilding of the whole church on a large scale was contemplated. Building operations went on steadily until 1349, when the Black Death put a sudden stop to all work, and not until 1390 was it resumed. The Perpendicular style was in vogue when the work was re-started, the north aisle of the nave was finished before 1460, and the chancel completed by 1498. The chantry chapels to the north and south of the altar were founded in 1500 and 1505 respectively, and the parclose screen, carved by Thomas Drawswerd, of York, was finished in 1508. About the year 1525 the chancel stalls were added, and the sacristy

and vestry are of contemporary date. The southern chantry chapel, founded by Robert Markham in 1505, has two points of interest: the two curious paintings, probably forming part of a series representing the Dance of Death, the one showing a *cadaver*, holding a carnation in one hand, and with the other indicating the grave; the other panel represents a civilian with his hand in his *gipciere*. The other noteworthy point is the double-squint, by which the priest at the chantry altar could see both the altar at the east end and that in the south aisle of the chancel. The font, stained glass, and brasses (especially that to Alan Fleming), all deserve better mention than considerations of space allow.

From Newark the train was taken to Tuxford, and thence a short drive brought the party to Egmanton, where the church, a Transitional Norman building, was inspected, and an interesting incised slab to Nicholas Powtrell deciphered. Adjoining the church is a very interesting example of a "mount-and-court" type of earthwork, locally known as Gaddick's Hill. Mr. Gould gave a brief description of it, calling attention to the platform upon which rested the ladder giving access to the mount from the opposite side of the ditch in the court. At the rear of the mount stone foundations are still to be discovered, by patient search, though much overgrown by grass and nettles.

At the Evening Meeting a Paper by Mr. R. H. Forster, Hon. Treasurer, on "Margidunum" was read, and this was followed by an important Paper on "Earthworks of the Moated Mound Type," by Dr. Davies Pryce; who contended that whilst the Moated Mound was pre-eminently the defensive military work of the eleventh century, and was frequently erected and occupied by the Normans, it could not be considered a specifically Norman structure, and the evidence warranted the conclusion that the Moated Mound did not owe its origin to one nationality, but was thrown up by many peoples.

#### SATURDAY, JULY 28TH, 1906.

Newark was again the starting-point of the day's excursion, and the morning was devoted to the examination of the remains of the Castle, under the guidance of Mr. Cornelius Brown and Mr. T. M. Blagg.

The actual building of the Castle was commenced about the year 1130 by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, who obtained the licence for its erection from Henry I. The Castle was surrendered to Stephen in 1139, and he took possession of it in person. King John was here in 1205, 1211, and 1215; and after losing his baggage in the Wash near Long Sutton, and falling ill at Swineshead Abbey, he came

thence through Sleaford to Newark, where he expired on October 19th, 1216. Stirring events moved apace in those days, and at this Castle was assembled the force which relieved Lincoln Castle, then besieged by Gilbert de Gaunt and his French troops. Soon afterwards the rightful owner (the Bishop of Lincoln) having failed to get peaceable possession, the Castle was besieged, and after an assault lasting eight days, a compromise was arrived at, and the place surrendered. Until 1547, when Henry Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln, conveyed it to the Crown in exchange for other lands, the Castle remained in the uninterrupted possession of the Bishops. Since that time it has been leased for various periods to private individuals. It was garrisoned for the King during the Civil War, and endured three sieges, but it was dismantled in 1646. It now belongs to the Corporation, who have bought the freehold from the Crown.

Turning to the architecture of the Castle, we cannot but be struck by the Norman gate and tower, still in a good state of preservation, and the only remains of the original structure—a massive piece of work, with later Tudor windows, inserted when it was used as a dwelling-house. Fortunately, however, these insertions do not entirely destroy the outlines of the original windows, which can still be traced. The staircase in the tower to the east of the great gate is worth examination, and the stair itself is built as a continuous spiral vault of small rag-stones, upon which were laid the steps, a clever piece of work, and very characteristic of the period. The north wall also is mostly of Norman work (the shoots for rubbish, etc., are still to be seen in this wall), as is also the arch high up in the angle of the wall and gateway, which evidently carried a small bartizan. In a small room in the south-west tower, the wooden plates to take the hooks for the hanging of tapestry are still in position.

Thomas Scot, of Rotheram, who held the See of Lincoln from 1471 to 1480, made many alterations here; and the oriel window, with his arms carved on a shield at its head, is of good proportions, and commands a splendid view. The crypt, the dungeons, and the postern-gate, with its curious warden's chamber, just under the oriel, are also very interesting, and repay careful inspection.

After luncheon, a delightful drive was taken to Hawton Church, which has a thirteenth-century nave and aisles, a Decorated chancel, and tower and clerestory of Perpendicular work. Its chief glory is the beautiful and elaborate Easter Sepulchre, with the canopied tomb of Sir Robert de Compton (who built the chancel about 1330) on the north side, and the triple-canopied sedilia on the south—marvellous

work, rich in design, perfect in execution, conceived by a master-mind, wrought by a master-hand, glorious in detail, every curve, every line, and every shadow combining to form a composition at once the envy and despair of modern man. We of to-day can imitate: this man created. The Parish Register, dating from 1564, was shown by the courtesy of the Vicar, the Rev. R. Washington, and the return journey to Newark, and thence to Southwell, was then commenced.

On reaching Southwell Oathedral, the party was met by the Rev. Arthur Sutton, who had kindly prepared a Paper on the building. He attributed the earliest church on this site to Paulinus, and dated it about A.D. 630. It appears to have been destroyed after the death of Eadwin, and tradition says that it was rebuilt by Wilfrid about A.D. 707. There is no evidence of any kind after this until between the years 1051 and 1060, when the Archbishop of York is stated to have placed two bells in the tower of the church at Southwell, recently built, so that we have a clear record that a church stood here prior to the Norman Conquest. Fragments of this structure have from time to time been discovered, and amongst them is a stone carved with a representation of St. Michael conquering the Devil, forming the upper part of a doorway in the north transept.

The building of the present church must have been commenced about 1110, for at that date the Archbishop of York addressed a letter to his people of Nottinghamshire, asking for their alms for the purpose of building the Church of St. Mary of Southwell. The nave, with its aisles, the north porch, the western and central towers, and the north and south transepts, are the original work of this period; and the fact that the three original Norman towers are still in existence is, we believe, without a parallel in this country.

About the year 1230 the work of enlarging the Norman choir was taken in hand, and this chancel is a fine piece of thirteenth-century work. The chapter-house, sedilia, piscina, and rood-screen are all of the fourteenth century, and the chapter-house abounds in typical detail of the work of that period.

#### MONDAY, JULY 30TH, 1906.

Having reached Mansfield by train, the party drove to Ault Hucknall Church, where the quaintly-carved Norman tympanum was inspected, and after some argument it was considered to represent the legend of St. Margaret. A short walk across fields brought us to Hardwick Hall, and here the Rev. F. Broadhurst conducted some of the party through the building, and described the paintings, tapestry,

and other features. Others examined the Old Hall, now a ruin, but still retaining evidence of its original magnificence. After luncheon the party proceeded to Bolsover, where the Castle was visited.

The history of the Castle, prior to the reign of Stephen, is involved in some obscurity. When *Domesday* Survey was made, the place was in the possession of William Peverel; and it is recorded elsewhere that it had been the property of Leuric the Saxon. No mention, however, is made of any castle here, and it seems doubtful whether one existed, though probably the town may have been protected by a rampart of earth and a ditch, traces of which still remain; but it seems unreasonable to imagine, as some writers have done, that because the position is naturally a strong one, it must of necessity have been occupied and fortified in pre-Roman times.

Broadly stated, the facts seem to prove that Bolsover is an Elizabethan restoration of a Norman castle, rebuilt very much on the lines of the old work, and displaying undoubted evidence—at any rate in its lower portions—of its early origin. Bess of Hardwick it was who commenced the work of restoration, and it was completed in 1616, after her death, by Sir Charles Cavendish, her second son. The buildings near the Castle were also commenced by him, and his son William—who afterwards became Marquis of Newcastle—completed these, and added the riding-house and stables, which are of immense size.

Bolsover was held for the King in the Civil War, when it was surrendered after an assault of one day, it being found untenable when a battery had been established on the opposite side of the ravine. Ruin and decay have laid their hands on the whole place, and but a faint idea of its original grandeur can be conjured up from the remains, which, though still fairly perfect in parts, are much exposed to the action of the weather.

After a hasty inspection of Bolsover Church, the party returned to Mansfield, where the Church was thoroughly examined under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. Canon A. H. Prior. Dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, this Church exhibits in its various parts examples of every style of architecture from Norman to Perpendicular. Originally commenced about the year 1100, and consisting of a nave, chancel, and tower, it had a north aisle added, *circa* 1200, in the Early English style. A Decorated south aisle was the next feature added, and finally north and south chapels of Perpendicular work, the vestry, porches, and organ-chamber being modern. As evidence of the antiquity of the Church, we find from records that William II gave it, with what belonged to it in the time of Edward the Confessor, as part of the endowment of the newly-founded See of Lincoln, between the

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CHARTER OF KING PHILIP RATION.

years 1093 and 1100. In *Domesday Book* we find the entry "here are two churches and two priests"; and traces of Saxon work are yet to be found on the east side of the present tower. Near the font is a bricked-up doorway, which is traditionally called the "Ale Door," and seems to have been connected with the custom of raising money for church expenses by providing a feast (usually at Whitsuntide), and crediting any surplus to the funds of the Church. Church Ales were held until the outbreak of the Civil War. The Parish Registers are highly interesting, and consist of thirty-three volumes, commencing in the year 1559; and the Charter of Philip and Mary is an excellent example of engrossing. This charter constituted the Vicar and Churchwardens a Corporation, and settled on them certain lands which had been left in the reign of Henry VIII to found a chantry, and had passed to the Crown under a statute of Edward VI. The original gift had been for a term of years, with a direction that the trustees were to purchase the King's licence to found a chantry in perpetuity; but this they neglected to do, and at the end of the term it was held that the Charter of Philip and Mary granted the term only and not the fee, the latter remaining in the heirs of the original foundress. A noteworthy point in the construction of the walls of the church is the fact that a large number of incised slabs have been used as material without having been re-worked.

The evening meeting was attended by Councillor Sambourne Cooke and the Under-Sheriff, Mr. J. A. H. Green, and the Mayor's and Sheriff's maces and chains were exhibited and described by Mr. Green. The Photographic Society also very kindly exhibited photographs dealing with Old Nottingham, particularly with the traces of the old walls and ditches, found during the course of sundry excavations in and about the city. A paper was also read by Mr. J. G. N. Olift, Hon. Secretary, on "The Walls of Nottingham," illustrated by diagrams showing the general trend in the development of the city and its defensive works of the various periods.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 31st, 1906.

Leaving Nottingham, the party travelled to Bottesford Church, which was very kindly shown by Canon Jackson. Mr. George Fellows then read a paper on the monumental tombs of the Roos and Manners families, which form a fine series in alabaster. The abundance of this material in the neighbourhood is the reason why we find so many tombs and effigies carved in alabaster. Nottingham itself was long famed for its carvers, whose work may be found in every part of England, and references to this once-flourishing industry occur in the

Records of the city. Chellaston was the largest source of supply ; and in June, 1506, one William Walsh, of Chellaston, sued John Nicholson for the cartage of a quantity of alabaster from Chellaston to Nottingham. His charge—one shilling and sixpence—does not seem extortionate, as the distance was twenty miles ; but he was non-suited.

Many of the tombs were not originally erected in this church, but were conveyed here and re-erected by the first Earl of Rutland in 1543. Some came from Belvoir Priory, and others from Croxsted Abbey. The first effigy to be noticed is a small figure in Purbeck marble, in hauberk and coif of mail ; from the shape of the shield and the sleeveless surcoat, it may be ascribed to the end of the thirteenth century. Its origin is doubtful, and it has been variously identified as William d'Albini the third, Robert de Toden, and Robert Lord Roos, of Croxton Abbey. The choice rests between the first and last of these, and the latter seems the more probable. If we take into consideration a tablet to Lord Roos, dated 1285, in the north wall of the chancel, and read the two together, we seem to be on fairly safe ground. This tablet, no doubt, cannot be earlier than the fifteenth century, but it may have replaced the original.

By the south wall of the Sanctuary is the tomb of Sir William de Roos, K.G., who died in 1414. He wears a conical bascinet, a camail of mail, jupon, and the collar of SS. The Garter is shown below the left knee, and on the front of the bascinet is the inscription "I. H. C. Nazere," and on the sword-hilt "I. H. S." On the other side of the chancel is the tomb of his son John, killed at the battle of Beaugé in 1421. Here the camail has disappeared, and the bascinet is less conical ; the SS. collar has the letters reversed, and there is both a diagonal and a horizontal sword-belt.

The tomb of Thomas, first Earl of Rutland, is the next in order, and he is shown with his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Paston. Henry VIII installed him as a Knight of the Garter, and created him Earl of Rutland in 1525. He died on September 20th, 1543, and wears over his armour the robe and chain of a K.G., the George and Rose depending from his collar, and the Garter being shown below the knee. The date of the death of the Countess is not filled in, and she was interred at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. On the base of the monument are shown the members of his family, all in different attitudes, and the eldest son, at a prayer-desk, is represented at the west end. Richard Parker was the carver, and records show that he was paid two sums, amounting together to £20, for the work.

The next tomb is that of Henry, second Earl of Rutland and fourteenth Baron Roos, and his Countess, Margaret, daughter of Ralph Neville, fourth Earl of Westmoreland. His two sons and his daughter

are seen kneeling on the top of the tester, which forms the cover of the tomb. The elder son is in plate-armour; while the younger, who was Rector of Helmsley, is shown as a priest. The inscription records that the Earl was "President of Her Majesties Counsayle of the Northe," and the date of his death is given as September 17th, 1563. He is represented in what is termed a "suit of splints," or "splintered armour"; and it may be noted that this style of armour was in use in Spain during the second half of the sixteenth century. A structure bearing shields of arms in grand quarters surmounts the tester, and on its summit is the Manners crest—a peacock in its pride.

The tomb of the third Earl, on the south wall of the chancel, and that of his brother, across the chancel, were both carved by Garrett Johnson, who was probably identical with Gerard Janssen, an immigrant from Amsterdam. He was paid £100 for each tomb. This Earl was survived only by a daughter, and the title and estates fell to his brother John, whose tomb is next in order of date. Both these tombs were erected by the widow of John, the fourth Earl, in 1591. The tombs of the fifth and sixth Earls are here also, and that of the latter is interesting, as it records that the children of his second wife "dyed in their infancy by wicked practice and sorcerye." They had been dead five years when Joan Flower and her two daughters, who lived in the neighbourhood, were committed to prison on the charge of causing their deaths. Joan Flower died in agony on her way to prison, and the daughters were executed at Lincoln in 1618. The seventh and eighth Earls have tombs of the prevailing fashion of their day, but they are not particularly interesting. There is a most beautiful brass to Henry de Codyngton, Rector of Bottesford, who died in 1404, and another, rather mutilated, to John Freeman, Rector in 1420.

The Church has a magnificent fifteenth-century crocketed spire of delightful proportions. Numerous fragments of Early English moulding are to be found built into the walls, and a prolonged study of these would be interesting. Staunton Church, a few miles away, was visited by some of the members, although not included in the programme; and after the return to Nottingham an excursion was organised by some of the party to visit Lenton Church, and thence on to Clifton. The earliest portions of the latter building are Transitional work of about 1150. There is a fine open timber roof, built in 1503 by Robert Yole, which well repays study, and several monuments to the Clifton family, including two fine brasses to Sir Robert Clifton (1478) and Sir Gervase, his son (1491). After inspecting the Church, the members of the party were hospitably entertained by Colonel and Mrs. Bruce, at the Hall, where they inspected the numerous treasures of the place with much interest.



## Archaeological Notes.

### THE ROMAN CITY OF CORSTOPITUM, NEAR CORBRIDGE-ON-TYNE.

THE site of the Roman town of Corstopitum, the first *mansio* south of the *limes* in the second Iter of the Antonine *Itinerary*, has been known for centuries. The existing tower-arch of Corbridge Church was probably removed from some Roman building here in pre-Conquest times. According to Camden, King John here conducted an unsuccessful search for hidden treasure, and the ruins formed a convenient quarry for many generations. Fragments of Roman mouldings, probably from Corstopitum, are to be seen in the still existing crypt of the church which Wilfrid built at Hexham, about three miles to the west, in the seventh century; and a stone used as a roofing-slab bears an inscription to Septimus Severus and his sons, with the name of Geta erased. Corstopitum, or its immediate neighbourhood, has in past times yielded a number of inscribed or sculptured stones, including two altars with Greek dedications, one to Astarte and the other to the Tyrian Hercules; but the most remarkable relic of the Roman city is the famous Corbridge *lanx*, a silver dish measuring 19 $\frac{3}{4}$  ins. by 15 ins., and bearing in relief the figures of several deities. It was found on the bank of the Tyne in 1734, and is now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland. The outline of the site was surveyed by MacLauchlan about fifty years ago, but no systematic researches have been made here till the present year, when, during August and September, excavations were carried out by the Northumberland County History Committee, with the permission and assistance of Captain Cuthbert, of Beaufront Castle, the owner of the land. The work has been done under the general superintendence of Dr. Haverfield, and the immediate direction of Mr. C. L. Woolley, of the Ashmolean Museum, who has been assisted by Mr. R. H. Forster, our Honorary Treasurer.

The site of the Roman city<sup>1</sup> is on the north bank of the Tyne, about

<sup>1</sup> Camden calls the site Colecester, and at the present time it is commonly termed Corchester. It is quite distinct from Corbridge, the whole of the Roman site being now agricultural land.

half a mile to the west of the present village of Corbridge, and two and a-half miles south of the line of the Roman Wall. The south side slopes sharply to the river, about 100 ft. below ; and probably the escarpment was still steeper in Roman times, when the Tyne, as seems likely, ran in a somewhat different channel, and may have been slightly nearer the site. The city itself has been a rough oval, covering about 26 acres. On the south-east and south-west the *fosse* has been clearly proved, and at those points it has been backed by a berm and rampart, the latter apparently of earth with a core of rough stone ; but at some time previous to the abandonment of the place by the Romans, the *fosse* has been filled in, and buildings have been erected up to, or even over, its north edge. On the south side, where the river is nearest, no trace of the *fosse* has been discovered, but there are indications that for a certain distance on this side there was a steep declivity, with a stone curb or retaining wall on its brow, and at its foot a marsh or quicksand, which became the common midden or refuse-heap of the place. This is now represented by a thick bed of black, malodorous clay, containing numerous fragments of Samian and other ware, bones, shoe-soles, nails, pieces of wood,<sup>1</sup> and other objects. It is unfortunate that the tapping of a strong feeder of water stopped the work in one of the trenches in this neighbourhood, just when it was becoming particularly interesting. In the middle of this black clay, more than 10 ft. below the present surface, a low piece of wall was found, resting apparently on planks supported by short piles. It may have been part of a well-head or cistern, disused even in Roman times, but the presence of water rendered it impossible to continue the investigation in the short time that remained available.

Of the interior of the city it is impossible to speak definitely till further excavations have been made. A considerable space was explored above the brow of the southern slope, several houses and other buildings being exposed and planned ; but, unfortunately, as these buildings approach the brink of the slope, the walls come close to the surface, and have been entirely destroyed, while elsewhere much stone has been removed for building purposes. In the northern half of the space mentioned, a street, 18 ft. wide and running roughly east and west, was found. Adjoining this were the remains of a building with a bold plinth of large stones, grooved on top, apparently to

<sup>1</sup> Specimens of the wood have been submitted to Professor Potter, of the Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who has determined that the wood is that of the birch (*Betula*). Judging from the appearance under the microscope, he considers that the specimens had been covered up, and the air excluded, soon after they had been cast on one side.

receive a plaster moulding, and also a wall, 6 ft. in thickness, of good masonry, with a shallow plinth on the outer side, extending for a considerable distance towards the south. This portion of the site yielded a quantity of pottery, from red Samian down to rude hand-made ware,<sup>1</sup> a number of coins, some of the Antonine age, but mostly of the early part of the fourth century, a few spear-heads, two engraved gems, some bronze *fibulae*, and other ornaments.

Another site was explored in the south-west quarter of the city, close to the filled-in *fosse*; and here were found the remains of a house of large size and good quality, the different floor-levels showing that it had been rebuilt more than once. The walls of at least two of the rooms had been faced with painted plaster, some of which has been recovered, and seems to show a low dado of dark marbled red, surmounted by a geometrical pattern in two or three colours on a light ground. The heating arrangements of one of these rooms are of great interest. There was—at least in later Roman times—no hypocaust proper, but against the north wall was a range of flue-tiles, communicating with a horizontal flue below the floor level. The tile-flues, twenty-three in number, were set side by side without interval,<sup>2</sup> every tile having an opening at either side, corresponding with openings in the adjoining tiles. The horizontal flue was traced to the north-east part of the house, where there were indications of an ordinary hypocaust. A remarkable feature of this house was a large block of concrete, 5 ft. in thickness and about 12 square yards in area, enclosed within the building. It is slightly trapezoidal in shape, and its purpose has not been satisfactorily determined. This site yielded less pottery than the other, but against the south wall was found a fine pipe-tile, bearing the stamp of the Sixth Legion—LEG VI V.

Built into the western part of the south wall of this house were two arch-stones, originally belonging to a massive archway of 12 ft. 6 ins. span. Each stone has a moulding on the outer face, and the larger of the two is 2 ft. square and 17 ins. thick at the broader end of the arch face. These stones are of great importance, as proving the origin of similar stones which have been used in the construction of post-Roman buildings in the neighbourhood, and they show that Corstopitum possessed structures of remarkable size and workmanship: a point of some moment in view of the controversy as to whether the Roman

<sup>1</sup> This was found with other pottery of undoubtedly Roman origin, and not so as to suggest pre-Roman occupation, of which no traces have yet been discovered.

<sup>2</sup> This arrangement is not common in the North of England, but examples have been found at Vinovia (Binchester, near Bishop Auckland), the second *mansio* south of Corstopitum.



CORSTOPTUM : WALL WITH GROOVED PLINTH.





stones incorporated in Hexham Abbey came from this city, as Mr. C. C. Hodges holds, or from a Roman town at Hexham, of the existence of which there is no other evidence.

Speaking generally—and it is yet too early to speak otherwise—Corstopitum seems to have been, at least for the greater part of its history, rather a civil town than a military station. Horsley mentions a square enclosure, called the Cor Bow, within the city, and this may have been the original fortress. It is hoped that the Cor Bow may be discovered at some future time; but it appears likely, that after the construction of the Great Wall, Corstopitum was partly a commissariat distributing-centre, partly a *mansio* on the road from Eboracum to the frontier, and partly a town to which the men of the neighbouring Wall garrisons resorted when on leave.

Not the least interesting or least important feature is the bridge which carried the great road, now commonly called Watling Street, but known as the Deor or Dere Street in early times,<sup>1</sup> across the Tyne to Corstopitum. A great part of the foundations may still be seen in the bed of the river, and a survey of these remains has been conducted by Mr. T. E. Forster, one of our Associates, with the important result that the line laid down in the Parish Ordnance Map has been proved incorrect. The true line crosses the present river obliquely (probably there has been a considerable change in the course of the stream since Roman times), but less obliquely than was supposed; and the direction renders it probable that on reaching the northern bank the road skirted the western side of the city, and did not pass through it. The foundation of the south abutment is almost wholly in the present river, but cuts the bank at the south-east corner, where three courses are still in place. It forms a parallelogram, with a river-face of over 36 ft., composed of large stones of unknown thickness, firmly set in the almost stone-like gravel of the river bed. Traces of five water-piers have been found, and probably a sixth remains in the river, covered with stones and shingle. The piers, so far as can be ascertained, are about 29 ft. long (including the pointed end), and 15 ft. 4 in. broad on the foundation course.

Some years ago Mr. Coulson, the discoverer of the east abutment of the North Tyne Roman bridge at Cilurnum, excavated what he took to be the core of the north abutment here. Remains of this core are still to be seen in a hedge-bank, about 60 yards north of the present

<sup>1</sup> Symeon (*Hist. Dunelm. Eccl. II*, xiii) mentions a grant by Guthred in A.D. 883 of all the land between Tyne and Wear "a Deorestrete usque mare orientale." In the *Black Book of Hexham* (A.D. 1479), "le Dere-strete" is five times mentioned as a boundary of property held by the Convent a few miles north of Corbridge.

north bank of the river, and the survey has determined that these remains are exactly on the line given by the south abutment and such of the water-piers as are still discernible. This gives us a bridge of approximately 7 chains or 154 yards—much more than the present breadth of the river at this point; but probably in Roman times something like half the distance would be occupied by a bed of gravel, covered only in time of flood. The present bridge (built in 1674), about half a mile to the east, is about 8 chains or 176 yards long, and such a gravel bed exists there on the south side.

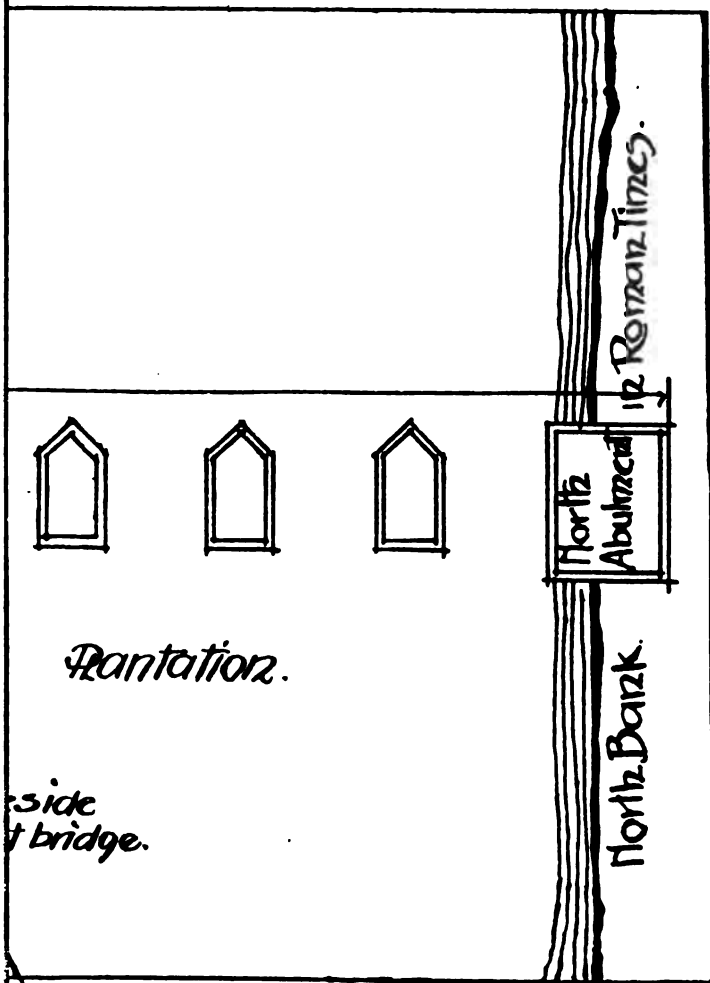
Measurements obtained at the south end of the Roman bridge show a waterway of 22 ft. 4 in., and a pier of 15 ft. 4 in.; but these figures are for the foundation course. The next course was set back something like 6 in., thus increasing the waterway and diminishing the pier by a foot, and possibly the next two or three courses were set back also. These measurements indicate that the bridge consisted of north and south abutments, with eleven waterways and ten piers. Of the latter, four must have stood on ground now covered by the north bank; and as this bank is now some 7 ft. or 8 ft. above the level of the stream, it is quite possible that their remains may be unearthed. A quantity of stones from the piers remain in the river, but no trace of arch-stones has been seen, and probably the superstructure and roadway were of timber, the piers being of sufficient size to carry a roadway 20 ft. wide.

We are glad to be able to report that there is every prospect of the work being continued in the future until the whole site has been explored; and we heartily commend the project to those of our members who are interested in Roman antiquities. The site is of the utmost importance, as being the only Roman city in the North of England available for complete excavation—the Silchester of the North, may we call it?—and its most promising sections have not yet been touched. The results cannot fail to add largely to our knowledge of Roman life in a particularly interesting district. We understand that a representative Committee will be constituted to take charge of the work, and it is hoped that their appeal for funds will meet with a generous response.

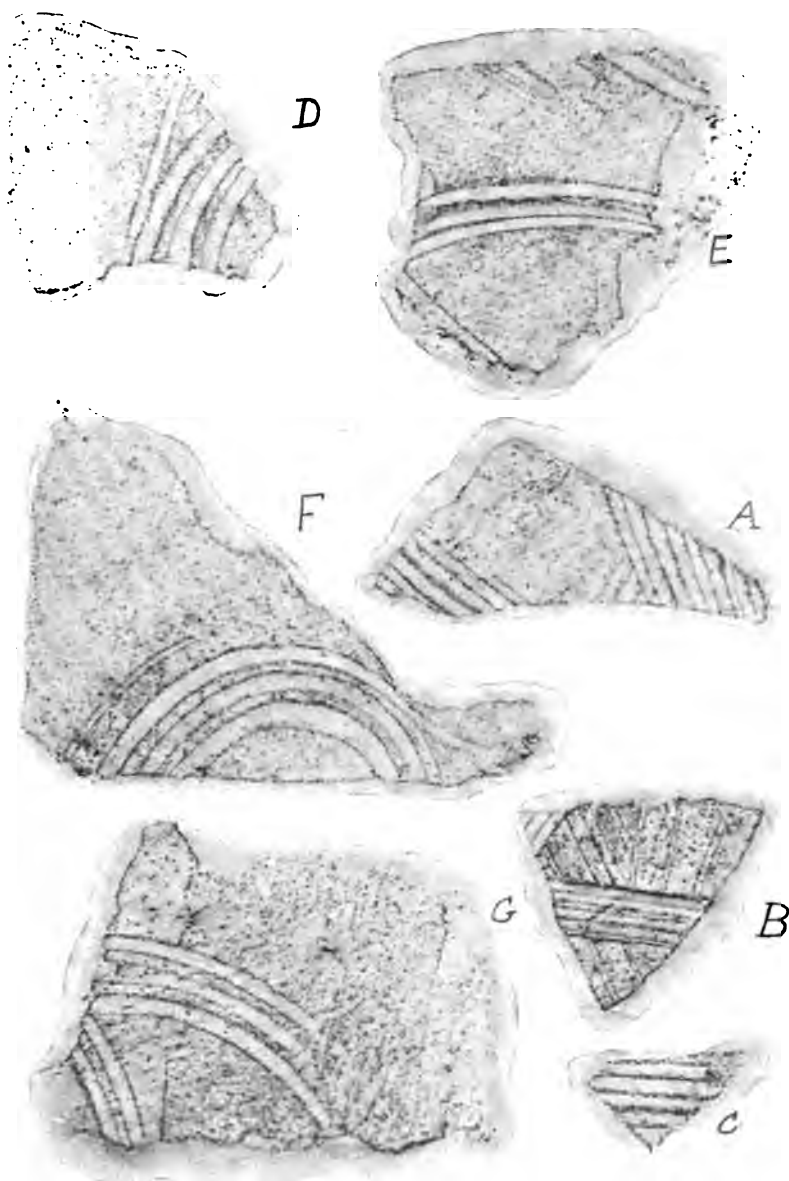
#### ROMAN REMAINS AT GLASFryn, TREMADOC, CARNARVONSHIRE.

WE are indebted to Mr. Charles Breese, of Portmadoc, for the following note and the accompanying illustration:—

“ Having occasion to pass the site where, some years ago (in 1873-4), a discovery was made of what was then declared to be a ‘cist’ of







Fragments of Scored Tiles found at Glasfryn.

sepulchral form, I determined to examine the ground in the immediate neighbourhood with minute care. As a consequence, I detected projecting from under a wall what appeared to me to resemble a portion of a large covering or coping-stone. A month ago I sought and obtained permission from the owner to open the ground at this point, which is some 20 ft. from the actual position of the reputed grave.

"I engaged a single labourer, and remained directing his work for some eight or nine hours. I soon found that what I had thought to be a portion of a large coping-stone was in reality but a comparatively small piece, and did not continue through the wall. However, on digging down to this depth (about 2 ft.), fragments of red brick and tile became manifest, and I decided to dig lower. Proceeding another 8 in. or a foot, I gradually uncovered portions of stones set in mortar, and carefully removed the soil on one side. I soon laid bare a solidly-constructed wall, heavily mortared and faced, and upon clearing it to the extent of some 5 ft. in length and 3 ft. in depth, I found it contained a thin course or layer of red tile, bonded in about midway. I directed my efforts to clearing the soil in the immediate vicinity, and found adjoining the wall a curved or dome-shaped receptacle, with lines of mortar at intervals showing on its face, and the whole giving the appearance of an oven. The soil here was strongly impregnated with particles of red brick and brick dust, and I picked out a fragment of tile (marked A in the illustration) scored with lines. A small piece of lead (with a covering of white substance) about the size of a sixpenny piece, together with a number of bones, was also here brought to light. I then cleared the soil at the base of the wall (in the opposite direction to the presumed oven), and soon laid bare an aperture some 15 in. in height by 12 in. in width, surmounted by a large single stone or slab; above this was a layer of mortar about 3 in. in thickness, upon which rested smaller stones, and then again above these was mortar, and a number of slates of a claret colour—similar to the slate produced at the Dinorwic Quarries, near Llanberis, twenty miles or so distant. These slates were evidently roofing-slates; for several of them were punctured with holes of a description not made in our modern slates, but which slaters inform me were evidently intended to connect the slate with the roof-beams by means of wooden or iron pegs.

"The sides of the aperture were evenly laid, and appeared to be set in mortar, and they were bonded at intervals with red tiles. I took out three of these tiles, and found they were thickly encrusted on one side with a dark substance similar to soot. I refrained from uncovering the aperture, but inserted a long piece of timber, and found it penetrated freely for a distance of 7 ft. There can be no doubt, in my

opinion, that this is a flue directly connected with the oven previously alluded to.

"I picked up some fragments of tile, and, on cleaning these, subsequently discovered that they were glazed<sup>1</sup> on one surface, while some of their edges were shaped or tooled. As I was not in a position to prosecute the work of exploration; and deeming it advisable to avoid interference by irresponsible people, especially as the site adjoins a busy high-road in a populous district, I decided to refill the portion excavated.

"Shortly afterwards I communicated my discovery to Professor Anwyl, of Aberystwyth University College, and he kindly consented to co-operate with me in any further work upon the site. The Professor came over about the end of September, when we again opened the soil at the same place, and he had the opportunity of viewing the hypocaust, and agreed generally with my views concerning its Roman character and construction. Two further fragments of scored tile (marked B and C) were brought to light. We also opened the ground some 10 ft. further away, in order to see if the wall extended from west to east, and found it did so. At this point we found fragments of tiles (marked D, E, F and G) scored with semicircular lines. I also obtained from near the "oven" fragments of flanged tiles, and two pieces of slag of iron, one of which was highly glazed. Lumps of concrete, formed of rough pebbles, and of a much darker colour than the mortar, were also found, together with a large quantity of oyster and other shells.

"Professor Anwyl agreed that it was advisable to restore the ground opened, pending an appeal to the Cambrian Archæological Association for help in prosecuting the work of excavation. We therefore refilled the ground opened, and took no photographs or sketches, as we felt it would be better to delay doing this till we had started our excavations in earnest.

"There is no recognised Roman road nearer this site than that running from Tomen-y-mur, near Trawsfynydd, through Maentwrog and by the pass of Aberglaslyn, in the direction of Segontium (Carnarvon), and this is distant fully five miles away. A hundred years ago the sea covered the land in the immediate vicinity of Glasfryn, and it was not until 1811 that the land was reclaimed by the erection of an embankment or breakwater opposite the port of Portmadoc. It may well have been that this site marked the entrance to the ford or passage-way which, tradition declares, existed across the *Traeth Mawr* (Great Sands) at low water."

<sup>1</sup> If the glazing is not an accidental result of heat, these glazed tiles may possibly be of mediæval date.—Ed.



## ROMAN REMAINS AT CARNARVON.

THE extension of the town of Carnarvon threatens to cover the site of the Roman city of Segontium, the walls of which were still visible about fifty years ago. Mr. Llewelyn Lloyd Jones, of Carnarvon, informs us that in excavating for the foundations of two new houses in a field opposite the Vicarage, he found at a depth of 18 ins. below the surface three Roman walls, about 3 ft. 6 ins. wide, running parallel with one another. The position of these walls, and of others which are known to exist, will be carefully marked on a plan, and as building operations extend, any future discoveries will be noted in the same manner.

Segontium was the starting-point of the Eleventh Iter, the route running from that place to Deva (Chester), by Conovium, which some identify as Caerhun, in the valley of the Conway, and Varae, which has been placed at Bodfari, the pass through the range of mountains which bound the Vale of Clwyd.

## A ROMAN BUILDING IN COLCHESTER CASTLE PARK.

THE exceptional dryness of the past summer has been the cause of an interesting discovery at Colchester. In the Castle Park, near the band-stand on the north side of the Castle, certain portions of the grass were particularly affected, and marks appeared which seem to show that beneath are the remains of a large Roman villa, or other important building. Six rooms of varying size are plainly discernible, and there are indications that this does not exhaust the possibilities of the site; the ground is sloping, and probably the foundations extend further to the south, east, and west. The tessellated pavement, which was discovered and preserved *in situ* when the Castle Park was laid out, is only a few yards away, and possibly belongs to another part of the same building.

The markings have been carefully planned, and an excavation of the whole site will be carried out; but at the present time the work is delayed by the necessity of allowing the grass to recover from the effects of the drought before the turf is removed.

## A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS AT COLCHESTER.

IN the early part of August a considerable find of Roman coins was made at Colchester, and about fifty of them have been recovered by Dr. Laver and deposited in the Museum, together with the fragments

of the vessel in which they were found. This vase, which has been skilfully restored by Mr. A. G. Wright, is about 6 ins. in height by about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. at its widest diameter, and its mouth is just wide enough to admit the coins. The coins recovered are all "third brass," of the reigns of Gallienus, Victorinus, and Tetricus.

#### THE AGE AND USE OF BRITISH STONE-CIRCLES.

AN interesting article on this subject by Sir Norman Lockyer, K.C.B., F.R.S., appeared in *The Times* of July 30th, 1906. The work done by Sir Norman in Egypt some fifteen years ago proved, as it is claimed, that the Egyptians carefully oriented their temples so that the rising and setting of the stars, and of the sun at certain times of the year, could be watched along the temple axis by the priest in the sanctuary; and the same methods of study have been applied here, the theory being that, from an astronomical point of view, there is the strongest resemblance between the Egyptian temples and British Stone Circles.

"In densely-populated and rich Egypt a temple was devoted to the rising or setting of one heavenly body, whether star or sun, the place of rising or setting being indicated by the long temple axis, and each sacred place contained many such temples, because there were many heavenly bodies to be watched. Now, to carry on this method of observation and worship where the population was scarce, the best and cheapest thing to do would be to build a circle to represent a sanctuary, and from its centre to imitate the various temple axes by sight-lines marked out by a stone or barrow."

An examination of a number of circles in the West of England has led to the conclusion that Arcturus was used as a clock-star, to watch the flow of time during the night, at these circles between B.C. 2330 and B.C. 1420.<sup>1</sup>

Another purpose was the indication of the rising or setting places of the warning or morning stars, *i.e.*, stars rising or setting "heliacally," or an hour before sunrise, such observations being necessary to enable the priests to know when to prepare for the morning sacrifice at the chief festivals. The Pleiades were observed rising and Antares setting, and the dates given by an examination in connection with these stars are about the same as those found in connection with the "clock-stars." Stones, or barrows, are also found, indicating the direction in which sunrise or sunset was to be looked for at the critical times of the year—the beginning of May, August, November, and February.

<sup>1</sup> The circles referred to are Tregaseal, The Hurlers, Merrivale, Fernworthy, Stanton Drew, and Merry Maidens.

The May sunrise is thus provided for in all the circles surveyed except The Hurlers. Sir Norman summarises his conclusions as follows :—

“ If we accept the dates thus astronomically revealed, several interesting consequences follow. The British circles were in full work more than a thousand years before the Aryans or Celts came upon the scene, if the time of their arrival favoured by archaeologists is anything like correct. Stonehenge began as a May temple —a British Memphis—and ended as a Solstitial one, like that of Amen-Ra at Thebes. Another conclusion is that, whatever else went on some four thousand years ago in the British circles, there must have been much astronomical observation and a great deal of preparation for it. Some of the outstanding stones must have been illuminated at night ; so that we have not only to consider that the priests and deacons must have had a place to live in, but that a sacred fire must have been kept going perpetually, or that there must have been much dry wood available. The question, then, is raised whether dolmens, chambered barrows, and the like, were not places for the living and not for the dead, and therefore whether the burials found in some do not belong to a later time.”

#### DISCOVERIES AT OLD KILPATRICK, DUMBARTONSHIRE.

THE examination by Mr. Ludovic MacLellan Mann, F.S.A. Scot., of the ancient structure of wood and stone at Old Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, has been carried on from June to September. The area covered by the structure (the precise nature of which is yet by no means clear) has turned out to be much more extensive than was at first conjectured, and indeed its limits on the side farthest from the present river margin have still to be determined. The position of the kitchen midden (and it is possible that one existed in connection with the structure) has unfortunately not being ascertained. Perhaps the most important object yet recovered is the fragment of the rim and upper portion of a vessel of dark-coloured earthenware, possessing features which may be sufficiently distinctive to enable experts to determine its age, and thus to furnish some hint as to the period when the site was occupied. Massive oak logs, some mortised, have been extracted from the foundations. The numerous worked objects in wood and stone, the stones used for polishing, sharpening, and pounding, the remains of animal bones and of cereals and fruit, the *plaques* of shale worked into shape, and in some cases perforated, and other relics recovered from the site, constitute a mass of material of immense archæological value.

#### A BERKSHIRE “DENE-HOLE.”

ON the brow of a hill in a field on North Heath Farm, about five miles north of Newbury, at an elevation of about 430 ft., one of the farm hands noticed that the top soil of sandy loam had caved in,

disclosing a circular opening of considerable depth. This aperture, about 1 ft. 6 ins. in diameter, was found to lead by a sloping entrance passage, carefully hollowed out of the chalk, to a pear-shaped pit, gradually enlarging from the surface downwards for a distance of some 14 ft., the bulbous end being about 7 ft. in diameter, and the depth about 7 or 8 ft., the roof being carefully rounded off. Unfortunately, owing to the passage and dome-like chamber being partially choked with soil, a careful inspection was not possible, and it is difficult to give a decided opinion as to the purpose of this singular excavation. But the assimilation of its shape and structural affinities to what are known as "dene-holes," which, either in isolated pits scattered singly, or in groups, abound in certain parts of the chalky districts of Kent and Essex, generally on high ground, and have been found at Perborough and other places in the Newbury neighbourhood, afford some clue to its identification. The excavation of hollows in the chalk for the storing of grain is a method of the greatest antiquity, and is a common practice over the whole world. Beside the distinct assertion of Diodorus that corn was preserved in pits in Britain, there can be little doubt that this method, which Tacitus says was employed by the Germans (the ancestors of the Belgæ and other tribes of Northern France), was also used by some of those tribes who migrated to Britain. If the Britons—if such they were—who quarried here did so for the purpose of obtaining chalk, they knowingly and wilfully concentrated their efforts of every kind so as to ensure the least and worst possible return for their labour. The pits probably extend along the whole brow of the hill, as in many other places where they have been discovered. In the course of a cursory examination, several flint-flakes, cores, and a well-worked scraper were picked up, scattered over the surface of the brow of the hill, bearing testimony to the occupation of the site by the flint folk who here pastured their flocks and grew their corn in the Neolithic Age; and within view is an ancient British barrow on Rowbury farm—a survival of the Domesday Hundred of Roebury. Unmistakeable marks were found in the walls and dome of the pit, as were also observed in the famous Hangman's Wood Dene-holes, at Grays, in Essex, showing that these chambers owe their origin to a bronze- or iron-using people.

We are indebted for the above information to Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A. It must, however, be remembered that mined chalk has always been preferred for agricultural purposes to surface chalk, and may have been worth the extra labour necessary to obtain it. It is possible that the truth lies between the two theories, and that the

chalk was mined for dressing the land, but with a view to the subsequent utilisation of the cavity as a grain-store.

#### ANCIENT BOATS.

Two early boats, or "dug-outs," have recently been discovered in different parts of the country. One was found in the bed of the River Wey at Byfleet, in 15 ft. of water: it had been made of a single log, and was flat-bottomed, with the ends roughly shaped. The remains recovered measure 11 ft. 3 in. in length, 2 ft. in width, and 15 in. in depth. The other boat was dug out of the peat moor at Shapwick, in Somerset. This also was worked from a single log of oak, and its shape resembles that of a modern Thames punt, its dimensions being 20 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. It was discovered nearly 12 ft. from the surface, close to the clay bottom of the bog, and the peat above had never been moved.

#### RELICS OF THE BRONZE AGE.

AN interesting discovery of Bronze Age relics has recently been made on land belonging to the Earl of Guilford, at Tilmanstone, near Dover, where a human skeleton has been found in a remarkably good state of preservation, some of the teeth being quite perfect. Beside the skeleton was a vase, which the British Museum authorities ascribe to the Bronze Age.

#### THE HERON PIT, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. R. O. Heslop, F.S.A., we are able to give two illustrations of the discoveries described on page 137 of the present volume.

Fig. 1 shows the south curtain of the Castle, between the Black Gate and the outer wall of the Castle enclosure (looking east), near the Old Gate. A headless figure of Hercules stands in the nook between the early outer wall and the curtain built in A.D. 1247. Three courses of the plinth of the older wall may be seen above and a little to the left of Hercules. This plinth is very like the plinth of the Great Tower, or Keep, and if contemporary with the Keep its date will be 1172-1179. All the objects here are Roman: the open and coped coffins are from Clavering Place, Newcastle; Hercules from Pons Aelii; the lion from Corbridge.

Fig. 2 shows the south curtain, between the Black Gate and the ancient outer wall, looking west. The doorway seen on the left gives access to a Z-shaped passage through the entire thickness of the



**FIG. 1.**



**FIG. 2.**



curtain, having outwardly a latrine over the moat. Immediately below this doorway is the Heron Pit, access to which is obtained by the standing ladder seen in the foreground. The ladder rests on the wall-head separating the Pit from the dry moat, across which the inner drawbridge carried the roadway, the line of which was to the right of the view. The loop seen in the distant wall is in the south guard chamber of the Black Gate. The gash in the wall on the left is a flue hewn out and used for the kitchen of the old Two Bulls' Head Inn. The lions over their prey (possibly Mithraic) are from Corbridge.

#### EXCAVATIONS AT HAUGHMOND ABBEY, NEAR SHREWSBURY.

OWING to the kindness of Mr. Hugh Corbet, the owner of the above-named Abbey, Mr. Herbert Southam, F.S.A., one of our Associates, has been able to make some excavations, under the supervision of Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A. The work done is of sufficient importance to show the necessity of further digging, in order that a correct plan may be made of the complete monastery, which, amongst other buildings, embraces Church, Chapter-house, Frater, Dortor, Infirmary, Gate House, and Guest House. From the lie of the land it is obvious that the Church possessed a most unusual feature for this country, in that the floor rises some 10 ft. from the west to the east end; and to trace how this rise was arranged will be of the utmost archæological interest. We understand that Mr. Southam will continue his valuable work next year.

#### YORK MINSTER.

SINCE 1899, when an appeal was made for funds to effect the restoration, or more correctly the preservation, of York Minster, an immense amount of work has been done to ensure the stability of this grand monument of mediæval English architecture, more than £20,000 having already been expended, while much remains to be done, and further donations are urgently needed.

Through the kindness of the Dean of York, we have received a series of "Occasional Papers," which report the progress of the restoration, the ninth dealing with the work done during the year ending May, 1906. Work has been proceeding on the pinnacle of the west gable, the east and north sides of the south-west tower, and the Becket window in the south choir aisle, while some of the flying buttresses on the north side of the nave have been completed; on the



south of the nave two flying buttresses are finished, and the stonework for a third has been prepared.

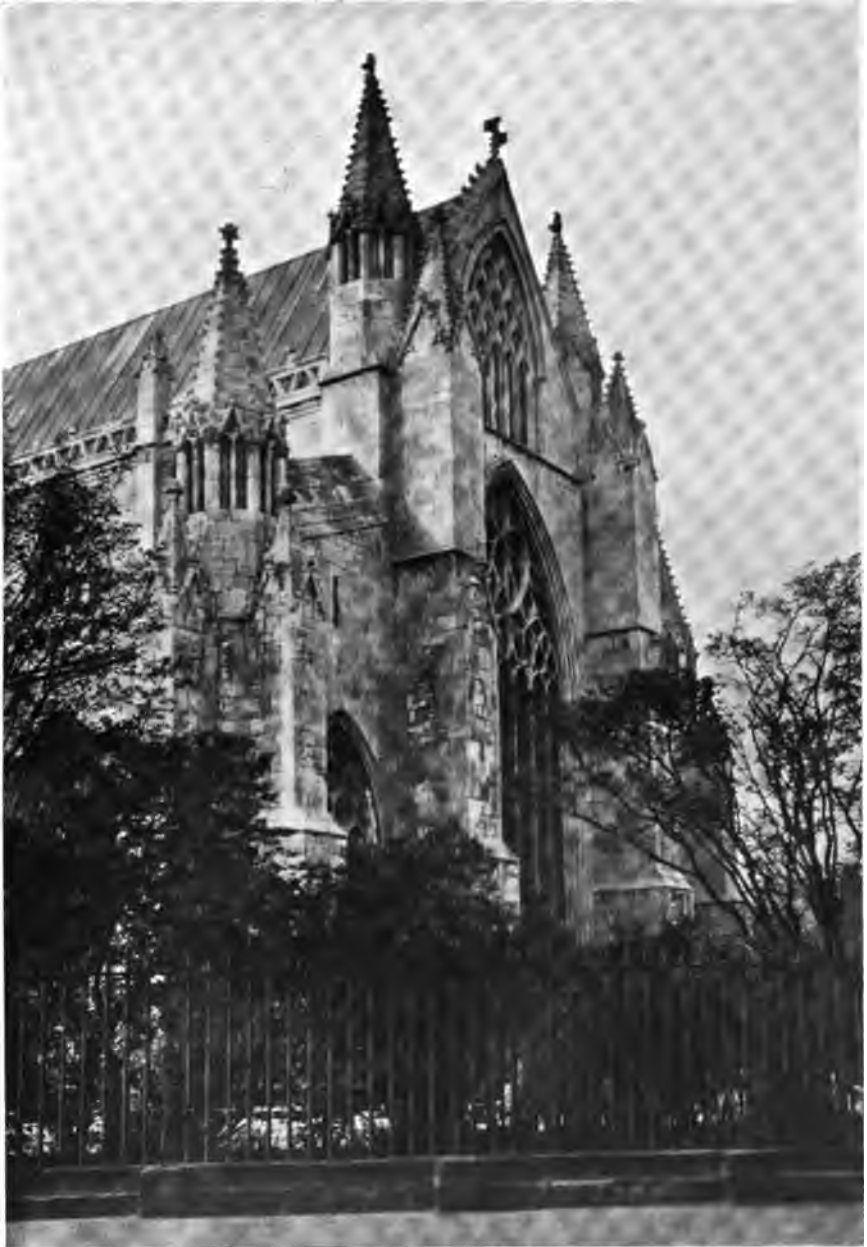
Important work has also been carried out on the great west window, which is 54 ft. 4 in. in height, 25 ft. 4 in. in breadth, and contains 958 superficial feet of glass. This grand specimen of Late Decorated work was glazed by Archbishop Melton in 1338; and though, owing to wanton damage and injudicious restoration, the glass is but a wreck of the original, the window is still one of the sights of England, and its effect will be greatly enhanced by the careful treatment which it has just received. The mullions and tracery have been restored, and the outer glazing has been replaced by a complete skin of clear "crown glass," which greatly increases the brilliancy and beauty of the mediævalwork.

#### SELBY ABBEY CHURCH.

THE sad disaster which has befallen this noble building will be deeply regretted by all archæologists. The great Benedictine Abbey of Selby was founded by William the Conqueror in A.D. 1069, the church being dedicated to St. Mary and St. Germanus; and the house was raised to the dignity of a Mitred Abbey by Pope Alexander II. King Henry I is said to have been born at Selby.

The church is of exceptional length and contains some fine Norman work: the west front is mainly Early English, and the Choir is specially mentioned by Parker as one of the finest examples of Decorated work that the country possesses.





SELBY ABBEY CHURCH : EAST END OF CHOIR.



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THE JOURNAL  
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DECEMBER, 1906.

NOTES ON WHITEHALL AND THE STRAND.

By ANDREW OLIVER, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

(Read March 21st, 1906.)



THE subject which we have to consider this evening, by its nature, will prove that it will be almost, if not quite, impossible to mention but in a brief manner the various items of interest which attach to it.

We have to bear in mind that we are dealing with the ages of the past, and with the buildings which in their time took rank as being part of the period to which they belonged, and which now belong to the realm of history; and, like all things which belong to the ages of long ago, there has become woven about them in the course of time, as might be supposed, details of interest which are part of them, and which by their very nature belong to them.

It is difficult to believe now that, as the poet Gay expresses it, on the river Thames—

“There Essex’s stately pile adorned the shore,  
There Cecil’s, Bedford’s, Villiers’, now no more.”

Of all the Palaces but two small fragments are left, viz., the Chapel of the Savoy and the Banqueting-House at Whitehall. We have to gather from various sources, in the names of the streets, out of books, manuscripts, maps and views, what we wish to learn about them ; and it is by these means that we shall endeavour to pierce the surrounding veil, and learn something of the buildings which are now little more than traditions.

*Whitehall in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.*—At this period Whitehall consisted solely of the Palace. In the eighteenth century were erected the Horse Guards and Dover House, on the site of the Tilt-yard, the Treasury on that of the Cockpit. In the nineteenth century the Privy Council and Education Offices were erected on the old Tennis Court, and various other streets and private houses were erected during that time.

*Whitehall.*—The history of Whitehall may be briefly described : Hubert de Burgh devised his house here to the Black Friars, 1242, who sold it to Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York. It continued as the London house of that See until, by a deed dated February 11th, 1530, Wolsey conveyed York House to Sir Thomas More and others, on the King's behalf. In the year 1536 an Act of Parliament was passed which said that the old Palace of Westminster was then, and had been a long time before, in utter ruin and decay, and that the King had lately obtained one great mansion-place and house, and that upon the soil and ground thereof he had "most sumptuously and curiously builded and edified many and distinct beautiful costly and pleasant lodgings, buildings and mansions and adjoining streets ;" had made a park,<sup>1</sup> and walled and environed it round with brick and stone, and there devised and ordained many and singular commodious things, pleasures, and other necessaries, apt and convenient to appertain to so noble a Prince for his pastimes and solace.

In the year 1606, the "old, rotten, slight-builded

<sup>1</sup> St. James's Park.

Banqueting-House" built by Queen Elizabeth, was removed, and a new one built in the following year; but of this we read as follows:—"About ten o'clock in the morning, upon Tuesday, the 12th day of January, 1619, the fair Banqueting-House was upon the sudden all flaming, a fire from end to end and side to side . . . at sight whereof the Court, being sore amazed, sent speedy news to the great Lords of the Council, who were then but newly sat in the Guildhall in London, but they all rose and returned to Whitehall, and gave directions to the multitude of people to suppress the flames, and by hook to pull down some other adjoining buildings."

Upon the site of this destroyed edifice was erected the present one. The last of the old buildings disappeared on 10th of April, 1691, when the whole of the building, with the exception of the Banqueting-House, was burnt. In Evelyn's *Diary* it is thus described:—"Whitehall burnt; nothing but walls and ruins left."

Six years later, in 1697, a second fire broke out. After this nothing was done to rebuild it. William III died, and Queen Anne lived at St. James's, and with this came the end of Whitehall as a Royal Palace.

*The Banqueting-House.*—The Banqueting-House is the only portion that was erected of the building designed by Inigo Jones. As already stated, it took the place of a former building which was destroyed by fire. It was commenced on June 1st, 1619, and completed March 31st, 1622, the total cost being £14,940, an additional £713 being expended on a pier at Oatland. The original account is to be seen at the Record Office, from which it would appear that the excess of cost over the original estimate was £5. The account was not settled in full until 1633. The architect received £400.

*The Ceiling.*—The great painted ceiling by Rubens consists of three central compartments, and the same number, but smaller, on either side. It represents King James I welcoming the beauties of Peace. The panels at the sides show the contrast between Peace and War. The inscription at the foot of the engraving is as follows;



—"Graved by Sim Gribelin from the painting of Sir P. P. Rubens on the ceiling, in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, in the year 1720, *Cum Privilegio Defuncte Annae Regine*. This ceiling presents in proper and curious emblems the prosperous state of Great Britain in the reign of King James I: his concern for religion, his love of arts and sciences, the birth of a Prince, the union of the two Kingdoms, and His Majesty's most eminent virtues crowned with glory and immortality." The painter received the sum of £4,000—about £10 a square yard.

Before being turned into the United Service Museum, it became "The Chapel Royal, Whitehall." It was here that the "Maundy" alms were distributed, until the ceremony was removed to Westminster Abbey on the Chapel being abolished as a place of worship.

*Views of Whitehall Palace.*—The five large engravings consist of three of the fronts, viz., the Westminster and the Park, the River front, a bird's-eye view taken from the Charing Cross side, and a ground-plan showing the arrangement of the old Palace. The fronts show an elevation divided into four divisions; in the central portion, two towers carried up above the roofs of the adjoining building with entrance gateway. The main central building is in three stories, on either side a wing in two stories, and on the outside of the whole square towers in three stories. In the bird's-eye view there will be seen three great courts, the line of the roofs separating them being in a line with the square towers of the centre portion of the fronts. The court on the eastern side is in three divisions, the central one being circular, with an open gallery on each story, the arches of which are carried on figures. The other two are oblong, the corresponding court on the other side being similar, except that the central one is square and not circular. The third occupies the centre of the building.

*The Plan of Whitehall Palace.*—The Palace, as it was in the reign of Charles II, extended from what is now

Richmond Terrace along the river to Great Scotland Yard, close to where the National Liberal Club now stands. It included on the north the Horse Guards, the Treasury, and Downing Street. A gateway was placed at the south end of the Banqueting-House, and another at the corner of Downing Street. The south side of the Palace began with the Bowling Green; next to this was the Privy Garden. The front consisted of the Banqueting-Hall, the Gate and Gate Terrace, and a long row of mean buildings. The Gate opened up on a series of three courts, or quadrangles. In the first, called The Court, was situated the Banqueting-House; opposite to this on the east side was the Great Hall, or Presence Chamber, the Chapel, and the private rooms of the King and Queen. This part contained all that was left of old York House. Behind the Privy Garden was the Stone Gallery, which contained the Art Gallery and Library. Between the river and the Stone Gallery were the apartments of those connected with the Court. The numbers given amount to fifty-eight. In the second court we find the kitchen, pantry, cellars, and several others, each with its own superintendent with his own quarters; in fact, everything that could be wanted to carry on so large an establishment as we find here that occupied the site of what is now the Old Scotland Yard and Whitehall Place. In Scotland Yard were placed store-shops, with a wharf on the river. In front of the Palace, the Tilt Yard and the Horse Guards Yard, and in front of the Privy Garden the Cock Pit and Tennis Court, and various apartments, chiefly of great officers.

*The River Front.*—The river front of Whitehall consisted of a red brick wall, with six small turrets. In the Crace Collection, at the British Museum, there is a water-colour sketch showing a portion of the river wall and the Palace. There is shown on Vertue's plan a landing-stair leading to the Bowling Green, which was close to the wall. The Privy Garden stairs consisted of a long bridge or gangway, about 70 ft. in length, with the stairs at the river, and a little further on were the Palace Stairs, about 150 ft. in length, and similar to the other at the

easternmost corner of the wall was Scotland Dock. The stores were landed on to "The Wharf," to which the Dock gave access.

### THE STRAND PALACES.

*The Strand in the Sixteenth Century.*—The earliest map of the Strand is Ralph Aggas's, 1560. In the rear of Charing Cross is the Royal Mews, surrounded by a wall at the northern end, buildings being situated at the west and south. To the west is Hedge Lane, now Whitcomb Street, which joins the southern wall of the mews and Cockspur Street. St. Martin's Lane, on the eastern side, ends opposite to Northumberland House.

Opposite to the eastern wall of the mews is St. Martin's Church, and above St. Martin's is the Convent or Covent Garden, bounded by a wall, now Long Acre, which joins Drury Lane, and which is continued into Wych Street, the old name being "Via de Aldwyche," corrupted into "Wyche Street." At the end of this is St. Clement Danes, which is hemmed in by houses on all sides. A single row of houses is between St. Clement Danes and Charing Cross.

On the south side of the Strand the houses of the nobility, which faced the river, are to be seen.

*The Seventeenth Century.*—It is to this period that we owe nearly all of the streets that are at present to be found in the Strand, Covent Garden, and the Church of St. Clement Danes.

*The Eighteenth Century.*—To this period belong the Church of St. Martin and St. Mary-le-Strand; Southampton Street, which was made in 1704, on the site of Bedford House; the Adelphi, by the "Brothers Adam;" and Bow Street was prolonged to Long Acre, continuing the portion between Hart Street and Great Russell Street.

*The Nineteenth Century.*—Although there have been but few new streets formed, at the same time great

improvements have been made at the eastern and western ends of the Strand. In the year 1863, Garrick Street was made to connect Long Acre with Henrietta Street. Wellington Street was made to connect Bow Street, which originally ended at Great Russell Street, with Waterloo Bridge, 1830.

The improvements at Trafalgar Square and those near St. Martin's Church in the years 1830-32; Northumberland Avenue in 1874; Victoria Embankment, commenced in 1863, and completed in 1870. The new street to Holborn was commenced in 1901.

*River Palaces.*—From the Palace of Whitehall to Arundel House there stretched a line of River Palaces the whole distance, the sites of which can even now be traced in the names of the streets. The two earliest maps which show where they were situated are Ralph Aggas's map, 1560, and Hofnagel's, 1572. In those times the greater number belonged to the Bishops. The great nobles, it would appear, appropriated them, and in later times they have been disposed of as eligible building sites.

They were destroyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The principal fronts faced the river, the Strand, apparently, possessing a long unlovely line of high brick walls to hide the great personages from the eyes of meaner mortals. On the northern side of the Strand we find, also, a row of houses with gardens in the rear, as Bedford House, Burleigh House, and others.

*Water Stairs.*—The way of access both from and to the river was by what were termed "stairs," and these were situated either at the end of a street, or else only belonged to the house which they adjoined. In the latter case they were private, and in the former public. Of the first division there is but one now left, viz., York Stairs, and the archway at the end of Essex Street marks the old entrance to the house from the river.

Stairs were also at Hungerford House, Salisbury House, Worcester House, and Somerset House. Public stairs at

Ivy Bridge Lane and at the end of Arundel Street, and other places.

In addition to being used as a roadway to the river, the streets also formed the boundaries of the various properties. For instance, Exchange Lane separated York House from Durham House, Ivy Bridge Lane Durham House from Salisbury House, etc. Nearly, if not all, of these old lanes are still in existence at the present time. The stairs for the most part, with the exception of York, Essex, and Somerset Stairs, possessed no architectural beauty, being merely an arch in the river wall.

*Northumberland House.*—The house has been known by the name of Northampton House and Suffolk House. The Strand front consisted of a long wide-spreading building, in the centre a gateway with a low window, which was continued up above the top story, where it terminates in an arch over which there was placed the Percy Lion. As seen here, the lion faces the west, but in the time when George IV was King it was turned round the other way. When the House was taken down in 1874, the lion was placed on the top of Sion House, opposite to Kew Gardens.

At the four corners were square towers with small figures at the angles. A view of the garden front of Suffolk House will be found in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*.

*Hungerford House.*—Old Hungerford Market, which was destroyed in 1862 to make room for the Charing Cross Railway Station, was erected at the close of the seventeenth century, on the site of Hungerford House. The history of the family will be found in Sir Bernard Burke's *Vicissitudes of Great Families*. Sir Edward Hungerford, it would appear, had here a magnificent mansion, which on the break-up of Durham Yard was cut up into small tenements, which together formed a market. Over the market was a room called the French Church; afterwards it became a charity school, and lastly a tavern and music-hall. The town house of the family was destroyed in 1669, and is thus described by Pepys:—

"April 26th, 1669. A great fire happened here last night, burning the house of one Lady Hungerford, by carelessness of the girl sent to take off a candle from a bunch of candles, which she did by burning it off." Sir Edward obtained permission to hold a market three days a week on the site of his former mansion, and this was the origin of Hungerford Market.

*York House.*—This mansion acquired the name from its having been the residence of the Archbishops of York. Before then it was the Inn of the Bishops of Norwich. The next owner, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, exchanged Southwark Palace for it. In the reign of Queen Mary it was bought by Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York, and reverted to its original name. Archbishop Matthew exchanged it for several manors with James I. Lord Chancellors Gertin and Bacon lived in it, and it was then granted to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who rebuilt it. The Parliament gave it to General Fairfax, whose daughter married the son of the first Duke of Buckingham, who sold it. The names of the streets are George, Villiers, Duke, Buckingham, and "of Court." Readers of Sir Walter Scott's novel, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, will recollect this. The only portion now left is that known as the York Stairs Watergate.

The following account is taken from Britton and Pugin's *Public Buildings of London*: "This fabric is of Portland stone. On the northern or street side it consists of three arches flanked by pilasters supporting an entablature, upon which are four balls. Ornamental shields rise above the keystones of the arches, those at the sides being sculptured with anchors, and that in the centre with the arms of Villiers impaling those of the Manners family.

"The Villiers motto, 'Fidei coticula crux'—'the Cross is the touchstone of faith'—is inscribed upon the frieze. The southern or river front displays a large archway opening upon the steps leading to the water. These, conjointly with four rusticated columns, support an entablature ornamented with escallops, and crowned with an arched pediment and two couchant lions bearing shields sculptured

with anchors. In the middle of the pediment, within a scroll, are the arms of Villiers—viz., on a cross, five escallops, encircled by a garter and surmounted by a ducal coronet. At the sides are pendant festoons. The apertures flanking the steps are each divided by a small column, and partly closed by balustrades.”

*Durham House.*—The site of this mansion is now occupied by the Adelphi Terrace. It would appear to have been a castellated building, with a square tower at the east end. The main building shows a row of pointed arches. There was also a low, square tower at the west end, together with a round tower, which was carried up above the parapet of the principal building.

In 1608, a building called the New Exchange was erected on the site of the stables in the Strand.

*Salisbury House.*—Hollar’s drawings show this to have been of considerably importance. It is designed in two styles, the western building consisting of four gables and a smaller one; the eastern portion looks as if it was like the western when first erected, as a gable-end is at the furthest end. In place of the gables we have a battlement, or parapet, and turreted angles, showing that the building had been raised at this portion of it. In the river wall there are two sets of stairs, and two small structures adjoining. The site is now occupied by the Hotel Cecil.

*Worcester House* occupied the space known as Beaufort Buildings, but which is now being covered by the Savoy Hotel. It originally belonged to the Bishops of Carlisle, then to the Earls of Bedford, and called Bedford and Russell House; then the Earl of Worcester became possessor, and his son, the first Duke of Beaufort, came into possession, and consequently it changed its name. Penant informs us that the Earl of Clarendon lived here, and paid the extravagant rent of £500 a year.

Strype tells a curious story that the Earl of Salisbury offered the gardener of the Earl of Worcester £100 if he would cut down a tree which obstructed his view. On this being done, my Lord of Worcester built a large brick

house which took away the whole of the Earl of Salisbury's east prospect.

From Hollar's view, this house is not of much importance, architecturally speaking. It is similar to the western side of Salisbury House, with six gables. A battlemented parapet forms the garden wall.

*The Savoy.*—The Savoy Palace—or rather what is left of it—was built by Simon de Montfort in 1245. It was granted by King Henry III to Peter of Savoy, in the thirtieth year of his reign. It was given by Peter to the Brethren of the Great St. Bernard, who had a Priory at Hornchurch, Essex. From them it was purchased by Queen Eleanor, and presented by her to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, and it has since that time always belonged to the Royal Duchy of Lancaster. Henry VII restored it, and dedicated it to St. John in 1509, for use as a hospital for 100 poor people.

The Chapel of the Savoy was the last place where the so-called Fleet marriages were carried out. Long after the right of sanctuary was abolished, it was a place of refuge for debtors. In the *Postman*, 1696, is the following :—"On Tuesday, a person going into Savoy to demand a debt from a person who had taken sanctuary there, the inhabitants seized him, and agreed after the usual custom to dip him in tar and roll him in feathers ; after which they carried him in a wheelbarrow into the Strand, and bound him fast to the Maypole."

In 1755 we find the condition of the Savoy as follows, given by Strype :—

"In the midst of its buildings, there is a very spacious Hall. The ceiling is very curiously built with wood, and having knobs in due places hanging down, and angels holding before their breasts coats of arms. The large Hall is divided into several parts. A cooper hath part of it : other parts serve as a prison. Towards the east end is a fair cupola, with glass windows, but all broken. Near the Savoy are divers good houses, Royal Printing Press, a Prison, a Parish Church, and three or four others."

*Somerset House.*—In order to obtain a site for erecting Somerset House, the Lord Protector cleared away, accord-



ing to Stow, several buildings. The following is his account :—

“Next beyond Arundel House was some time a fair cemetery, and in the same<sup>1</sup> a parish church called the Nativity of Our Lady and the Innocents of the Strand, and of some by means of a brotherhood kept there, called St. Ursula of the Strand ; and near adjoining to the said church there was an Inn of Chancery, commonly called Chester's Inn, because it belonged to the Bishop of Chester.”

There is some doubt whether the Protector ever resided there. (The building was commenced in 1547.) He was committed to the Tower in 1548, and remained there for two years. In 1549 he was again arrested, and beheaded in 1552. A short account of its later history may be of interest. At the death of the Duke it was forfeited to the Crown, who made it over to the Princess Elizabeth on her coming to the throne. It was returned to the Dowager Duchess of Somerset. The Queen of James I lived here. It was then called Denmark House. The palace was much improved by the Queen, and Inigo Jones was employed to carry out the work as architect.

The architect is given in Pennant as being the celebrated John of Padua. The architect of Longleat, Wilts., he is said to have held the post of Devizer of His Majesty's Buildings.

The Strand front of Somerset House<sup>2</sup> consisted of a central gateway, with a bay over, in two stories. On either side of the gateway were two windows, with pedimental heads and double bay windows with similar features.

The courtyard front was in two stories, and consisted of an arcade of nine arches, a bell-cot being placed on the roof.

The gardens faced the Thames. These were laid out in the monotonous style of the period, so well described by Pope :—

“Grove nods to grove, each alley has its brother,  
And half the gardens just reflects the other.”

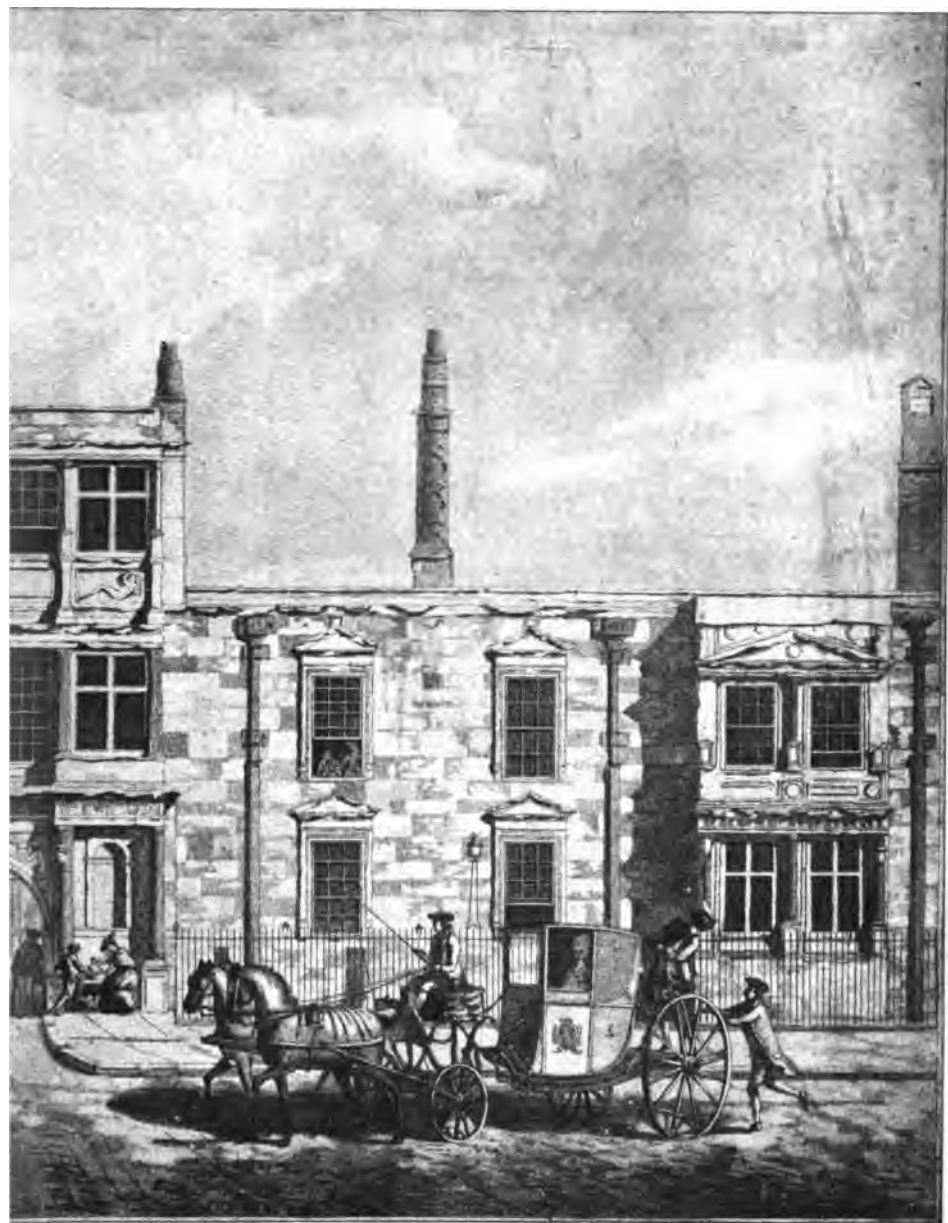
<sup>1</sup> This is marked on the Ordnance Map as being at the east side of Somerset House, as well as Chester's.

<sup>2</sup> The original engraving is dated 1777.





SOMERSET



THE PHOTO. SPRAGUE & CO. LTD. LONDON.

USE, 1777.



As regards the architecture, quaint old Stow has the following:—

“I am extremely pleased with the front of Somerset House, as it affords us a view of the first dawning of taste in England, this being the only fabric which deviates from the Gothic or imitates the manner of the ancients. Here are columns, arches, and cornices that appear to have some meaning. If proportions are neglected, if beauty is not understood, if there is in it a mixture of barbarism and splendour, the mistakes admit of great alleviation.”

The old building was demolished in 1776, and Sir William Chambers appointed the architect of the new edifice. The accounts of the building are in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

Next to Somerset House was Arundel House, formerly the Bishop of Bath's Inn.

Hollar's view shows a large courtyard with buildings. To the left, what appears to be either the hall or possibly a chapel, with four windows in the Perpendicular style; a half-timber structure is next to it, and beyond that an open shed. To the left, another building with a sundial.

In another view, the building last mentioned is on the right, and next to that a row of outbuildings. Facing us, there is to be seen a building with a high-pitched roof, with an open staircase which projects over the courtyard, and the windows are under the steep pitched gable. Just to the right of this is the top of a church tower, possibly St. Clement Danes.

In the view looking towards London we are supposed to be on the battlements. Middle Temple Hall is directly in front, and St. Paul's and other churches in the background. Norfolk, Howard, Arundel, and Surrey streets now occupy the site.

The site was bought on the death of Lord Seymour, brother of the Protector, by Henry Fitzalan for the “incredibly small sum of little more than £40,” we are informed by Strype.

*Essex House.*—Essex House stood next to Arundel House; a plan of both is given in Walford's *Old and New London*, vol. iii, p. 72. Of the old house, nothing now

remains but the Water-gate at the bottom of Essex Street. It takes its name from the Earl of Essex, the unfortunate favourite of Queen Elizabeth. His son was the great Parliamentary General. About the year 1640 the house was divided. In 1682 Essex Street was built on one-half of the site. The present houses, however, date from the middle of the reign of George III.

Upon the opposite side of the Strand some other houses were to be found. Camden House afterwards became the site of the Olympic Theatre. Drury House, which gave its name to Drury Lane, stood at the Strand end of Wych Street or (as found on old maps) Aldwyche. Burleigh House stood between Wellington Street and Southampton Street; on Lord Burleigh's death, in 1598, it came to the Earl of Exeter. Exeter Change was erected on the site. This was taken down in 1863.

Southampton Street now occupies the site of Bedford House.





## EARTHWORKS OF THE MOATED MOUND TYPE.

By T. DAVIES PRYCE, Esq.

*(Read at the Nottingham Congress, 1906.)*



THE moated mound is, perhaps, of all earthworks the most interesting, for it presents to us archæological evidence of a past upon which history has of late shed considerable light.

In this Paper the subject will be considered somewhat broadly, but a special enquiry will be made into its geographical distribution, with the view of arriving at some approximate conclusion as to its source and date of origin.

The question whether it must be traced to the military genius of one nation, or whether it arose more or less of necessity out of certain social and political conditions, which have in the past been the common possession of many nationalities, will also be discussed. The influence exerted by natural and geological conformation on the development of the mound fortress must likewise be noticed. It will be well, in the first place, to clearly define this type of earthwork.

The moated mound is an artificial—or partly artificial—hillock, surrounded by a fosse. The fosse is usually, but not invariably, furnished with a further defence in the form of a rampart on its counterscarp. In some instances, the mound is additionally defended by a second, or even a third, fosse and rampart. Its height varies from 10 ft., as at Woolstaston, Shropshire, to nearly 90 ft., as at Thetford. It is generally flat-topped, and sometimes its summit is defended by an earthen parapet. Occasionally



the summit is scooped out, and a saucer or cup-like depression is presented to the observer. Least frequently of all the summit may be rounded, as at Donaghpatrick, Ireland.

Sometimes the mound stands alone, but usually one or more enclosures are found in connection with it, and these vary in size from half an acre to six acres.

The form of the enclosure varies greatly: it may be oval, more or less rectangular, or crescent-shaped. The enclosure, or court, is generally raised above the level of the surrounding ground.

The position of the mound in relation to the court is not constant. Sometimes it is placed, as at Kilfinnane (Ireland), in the centre of a circular or oval circumvallation; oftener near one extreme of the inner circuit of the enclosure, as at Thetford, Newtown, and Rathkeltair, and in a number of Welsh examples; but most frequently in English examples, it is so situated that two-thirds of its circuit projects beyond the general line of the attached enclosure, the whole presenting the appearance of a figure of 8, or of a roughly oval earthwork, with an hour-glass contraction at the junction of the mound and court. Laughton-en-le-Morthen exemplifies this type.

Sometimes the fosse which surrounds the outer circuit of the mound is not carried completely around its inner portion, and thus no ditch separates the mound from the enclosure, as at North Elmham and Lydham. Rarely the mound has no fosse of its own, as at Bramber and some Welsh instances. As a rule, that portion of the fosse which intervenes between the mound and court has no rampart. Exceptions to this rule are to be found at Newtown and other places.

Moated mounds may thus be described as *simple and complex*. The complex form may be roughly divided into two categories—those in which the mound is placed definitely within the enclosure, and those in which it stands to some extent without the enclosure, *i.e.*, on its *enceinte*.

I have entered somewhat tediously upon the numerous variations of this class of earthwork, because it is necessary

to insist upon a point, too often overlooked, and it is this: that there is no one specific type of moated mound; on the contrary, it is to be found in a great variety, both as to form and size.

Some exception might be taken to the title of this Paper, inasmuch as I have employed the term *moat* in its late or transition form of ditch, and not in its original sense of mote or "motte."

It is admitted that the title is not an ideal one: it has, however, one important property, and this is that it is *structurally* descriptive.

The terms "motte" and "motte and bailey" do not appear to me to be judicious, for they carry with them a suggestion of Norman origin, a preconception which it is necessary to avoid. Before entering upon the subject proper of this Paper, it may be well to point out that enclosures are not peculiar to artificial mound forts. They are frequently to be found in connection with the drystone forts of Ireland, as at Dun Conor and Grainan Aileach. The effects of time upon these earthworks, both in its destructive and constructive aspects, must also be borne in mind.

Much discussion has ranged round the question of the date and source of origin of the moated mound.

The late Mr. Clark<sup>1</sup> attributed them to the Saxons and Danes, but this view which was first questioned by Mr Round,<sup>2</sup> has still further been shaken by the valuable papers of Mr. George Neilson,<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Armitage,<sup>4</sup> and Mr. St. John Hope,<sup>5</sup> and again by a contribution of Mr. Round's,<sup>6</sup> on the "Castles of the Conquest."

So far from accepting Mr. Clark's views, the trend of recent antiquarian opinion is distinctly in the direction of regarding all moated mounds as of Norman origin.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Medieval Military Architecture."

<sup>2</sup> "Quarterly Review," July, 1894, No. 357, pp. 27-57.

<sup>3</sup> "The Scottish Review," vol. xxxii, pp. 209-238.

<sup>4</sup> "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. xxxiv, pp. 260-288.

<sup>5</sup> "The Archæological Journal," vol. lx, No. 237, pp. 72-90.

<sup>6</sup> "Archæologia," vol. lviii.

<sup>7</sup> See Papers by Mrs. Armitage:—"English Historical Review," vol. xix, pp. 209-245, 417-455; vol. xx, pp. 711-718; also "Antiquary," vol. ii, New Series, Nos. 8 and 9.

After a somewhat exhaustive, though necessarily incomplete, study of the subject, I am convinced that this problem cannot be settled by an appeal to one specific nationality or period.

That the Normans erected castles of the moated mound type may be regarded as an historical fact, which the work of Mr. Round, Mrs. Armitage, and others, has definitely established; but the contention that the Normans alone employed this class of fortification, and that where the invader settled he invariably erected a new form of defensive work, is open to grave doubt.

A generalisation so comprehensive must perforce ignore much evidence which, even at the present time, is forthcoming. On the other hand, it must be fully recognised that *historically* the moated mound was pre-eminently the defensive military work of the eleventh century.

But historical evidence, whilst of utmost importance, does not warrant the closing of the open door to the facts disclosed by comparative distribution, archæological "find," and the specific characteristics of many of these earthworks.

It is only by a careful consideration of the subject from all these points of view that some approximate conclusion can be arrived at. Historical allusion, in the nature of things, is probably of later date than the actual birth of the mound and fosse.

If these premises are sound, it follows that an appeal to history does not—in itself and in all cases—possess the attributes of finality.

This study may be conveniently considered under the four headings of Geographical Distribution, Internal, Developmental, and Historical Evidence.

### I.—GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

The comparative distribution of these earthworks has been appealed to by one observer after another in support of his or her theory of their origin and source.

Thus, Mr. Clark relied upon their occurrence in England and Normandy for his theory of a Saxon and Danish parentage; Mrs. Armitage, finding that their distribution

corresponds to the various spheres of Norman occupation in Normandy, England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Italy, unhesitatingly adopts the theory that they are specifically Norman structures.

Whilst giving due weight to this line of argument, and allowing a probable Saxon and an undoubted Norman origin for many of these earthworks, a wider study renders it evident that these observers have viewed the matter through too narrow a perspective, for moated mounds are to be found in many countries far removed from Norman (or Saxon) settlement and influence.

They occur in Germany, both East and West,<sup>1</sup> Holland,<sup>2</sup> Denmark,<sup>3</sup> Belgium,<sup>4</sup> Austria-Hungary,<sup>5</sup> Bosnia,<sup>6</sup> and in a modified form in the United States of America.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Schlossburg, in the neighbourhood of Benau Friedersdorf, near Sorau, is a very fine "motte," with a ramparted summit and two enclosures. The long appended enclosures of these "mottes" in Germany are called "hagel," or hook (see Westropp's "Ancient Forts of Ireland," p. 606); Backer Schloss, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Leyden.

<sup>3</sup> See Sophus Müller, "Vor Oltid," p. 646.

<sup>4</sup> On the River Schelde. Norman influence cannot altogether be excluded.

<sup>5</sup> Cserevics is a lofty "motte," surrounded by three earthen circumvallations. See Westropp's "Ancient Forts of Ireland," p. 602. The Hausberg of St. Ulrich is a "motte" with ramparted summit and a base-court. See Much's "Prehistoric Atlas of Austria and Hungary."

<sup>6</sup> Bosnia furnishes at least two examples: the Geiselberg, a flat-topped mound, with three surrounding ramparts of the same type as Old Sarum; and a "motte and bailey" at Stonegg. (See Westropp, p. 600.)

<sup>7</sup> At Marietta, Ohio, at the junction of the Muskingum and Ohio River, is a fine truncated mound 30 ft. high, conical in form, surrounded with a ditch 4 ft. deep and 15 ft. wide, and defended by a rampart 4 ft. high. This "motte" is situated in the centre of a rectangular enclosure, the earthen walls of which still exist on the south-western and south-eastern sides. (See Squier and Davis's "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," p. 73; "Peet's Prehistoric America," p. 91.)

The Portsmouth group of earthworks furnishes an example of the truncated conical mound, 22 ft. high, surrounded by four concentric rings of fosse and rampart. It has a sloped ascent, a feature frequently found in European examples. (See Squier and Davis's "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," p. 81.)

The earthwork near Worthington, Franklin, County Ohio is a

It is therefore obvious that the moated mound is not specifically Norman, Danish, or Saxon.

A glance at the descriptions given in the references, and at the plans which illustrate this Paper, demonstrates the fact, that wherever found, the Continental mound conforms to one or other of the English varieties of moated mound.

In America, so far as the mound itself is concerned, we have frequently an exact parallel to English examples. The enclosures are, however, larger, and point more definitely to a tribal stage of development. Rectangular defensive mounds are also common.

Their widespread distribution should cause some hesitancy in those who attempt a simple solution of this problem by ascribing all the moated mounds of the British Isles to one nationality. Indeed, there appears to be good evidence of a "Celtic" and Saxon parentage, as well as definite proof of Norman origin and occupation.

Confining ourselves, in the first place, to those countries or portions of countries which came under Norman influence, we shall find that even here many difficulties present themselves to those who start with an exclusively Norman conception of the question.

It will be found that in Normandy and Brittany the *motte* is frequently absent from the site of the mediæval castle, many of them having been built as simple courtyards surrounded by ramparts of earth.<sup>1</sup> The *motte*, or mound, was therefore not an essential feature of an early Norman castle. The early "keep" of London, and the

rectangular enclosure, with an area of eight acres, and has a truncated mound 20 ft. high on its southern *enriente*. The diameter of the flat summit is 76 ft. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Rock Mill Work, Fairfield, Ohio Co., is a rectangle, with a mound and fosse placed at one angle. *Ibid.*, p. 100. These examples might be multiplied. It is interesting to note the description of Indian villages, as given by an eighteenth-century traveller.

Bertram, "Travels Through North and South Carolina," London, 1792. The Chunky yards of the Creeks are cubiform areas in the centre of the town, the public square an oblong eminence, and the Council House a truncated conical mound standing at the two opposite extremes. It is surrounded by banks, generally 3 ft. high.

<sup>1</sup> De Caumont, "Abécédaire d'Archéologie," pp. 298, 304.

somewhat later "keep" of Colchester, also illustrate this point.

In the case of Wales, the mound fortress is found throughout the length and breadth of the land; whilst the footprint of the invader is indelibly marked by the moated mound, we find in that portion of the Principality which never came under Norman occupation many good examples of this class of earthwork. Thus, in Merionethshire, the western half of Montgomeryshire (Cyveiliog), and the south-western borders of Denbighshire, the mound and fosse and the mound and court is of frequent occurrence.<sup>1</sup>

Some of these earthworks can be historically identified.<sup>2</sup> This identification, whilst demonstrating their occupation by Welsh chieftains, does not throw much light upon their actual date of origin. It is a moot point whether they were thrown up in imitation of Norman castles, or whether they were in a true sense indigenous to the soil. The natural knoll of Castell Prysor, crowned with the remains of drystone masonry, together with its attached enclosure (see 25-in. O.S.), seems to point to an early date. It undoubtedly conforms to the "motte and bailey" plan.

Ireland offers an especially favourable field for this investigation. The history of the comparatively late Anglo-Norman invasion, by Giraldus Cambrensis, and the early literature of the island—both historical and legendary—with its wealth of allusion to the strongholds of its chieftains, contain much matter which is germane to our subject.

It has been maintained by Mrs. Armitage and others, that the geographical distribution of the moated mound

<sup>1</sup> A few examples may be given: Tomen-y-Bala (mount), Castell Gronw, Bala (mount and court); Tomen-y-Castell, Bala, N.E. (mount); Castell Carn Dochan, south-west of Bala Lake (mount and court); Castell-Prysor, on the River Brysor (mount and court—drystone masonry on the rocky mound); Castell-Tomen-y-Mur, two miles north of Trawsfynydd (mount in a probable Roman enclosure); Foel Las, Pentrevoelas (mount and court); Bryn-y-Castell, near Towyn (mount); Tafolwern (mount, with natural base-court formed by the confluence of two streams).

<sup>2</sup> "Brut y Tywysogion," 1202.

in Ireland corresponds with the sphere of Norman occupation. Whilst in the main this is true, there are many exceptions to this rule. Thus we find the moated mound in situations never occupied by the invader.<sup>1</sup>

They are conspicuous by their almost total absence from the chief manors and vills of the Norman colonies of eastern Limerick, southern Connaught, and Cork.<sup>2</sup>

It is certainly singular that Cork, which came early under the influence of the invader, presents few, if any, examples of this type of earthwork.

Now, it is admitted that the Normans did erect moated mounds in Ireland.

The description given in the "Song of Dermot and the Earl" of the levelling of the "mot" of Hugh Tiral at Trim, is probably, as Mr. Round has pointed out, conclusive on this point. Further evidence in this direction is adduced by Mr. G. Orpen, in a valuable Paper in the "English Historical Review," July, 1906.

The occasional references of Giraldus to the weak forts of stake and turf erected by the invaders may refer to fortifications of the mound type. In no case, however, does our author mention a high mound, or "motte," as having been thrown up by the Normans. His references to these weak forts bear an element of contempt: as when he relates how Fitz-Stephen was surrounded by the enemy at Carrig, in a very ill-fortified hold constructed only of turf and stakes. It is suggested that these positions were "ill-fortified holds," in comparison with the stone keeps which the Anglo-Normans had already commenced to build in Ireland.

But so far from supporting the Norman theory in its entirety, the Irish evidence points to an early, or Celtic, origin for some of these structures.

Thus Giraldus,<sup>3</sup> in describing the castles which he

<sup>1</sup> Magh Adhair, County Clare.

<sup>2</sup> Westropp, "Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," vol. xxxiv, Fourth Quarter, December, 1904, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> "Top. Hib.," vol. v, p. 182, Rolls Series.

"Horum autem dux, Turgesius vocatus, multis variisque conflictibus et bellis atrocibus totam sibi insulam in brevi subjugavit; et pererratis totius regni finibus, totam undique terram locis idoneis incastellavit.

attributed to the Danes, states that Turgesius (*ante* 838) in a short space of time subjected the country and established castles in suitable situations, whence you will find in many places vast earthworks (*fossata infinita*) very lofty, being also round, and most of them triply defended; walled castles also (*castella etiam murata*), still entire at the present day, but empty and deserted.

This passage is, I must confess, difficult to translate.

The *fossata* here referred to were probably *mounds*, not *fosses*. This is, undoubtedly, a later sense of the term. Whichever view is taken, the description is certainly more applicable to the triply-defended mottes of Downpatrick, Donaghpatrick, and Kilfinnane than to the usual type of Irish rath.

All these earthworks are situated in the English Pale. Historical reference to some of these mounds makes it certain that they are of pre-Norman origin.

Within the circle of the Rath-na-Riogh at Tara is a large moated mound. It is surrounded by two ditches and ramparts, and rises some 13 ft. above its encircling fosse. Its summit is flat-topped, an almost certain sign of residence or occupation. Connected with it by means of its outer rampart is an oval and raised enclosure, the summit of which is furnished with a defensive parapet.

There can be no doubt that both these earthworks conform to the moated mound type.

Petrie<sup>1</sup> has identified these moated mounds with the Forradh and Teach Cormaic of the Dindsenchas, and of the poem of Cuan O'Lochain, who died in 1024. This identification, as a perusal of this poem will show, cannot, I think, be questioned.

The antiquity of the site admits of no doubt. Here, upon an historic site, we find a moated mound which has been described in a pre-Norman topographical poem. These two conjoined earthworks may be regarded as an

Unde et fossata infinita, alta nimis, rotunda quoque, et pleraque triplicia; castella etiam murata, et adhuc integra, vacua tamen et deserta, ex reliquiis illis et antiquitatis vestigiis hic usque in hodiernum multa reperies."

<sup>1</sup> Petrie's "History and Antiquities of Tara Hill;" Transactions R.I.A., vol. xviii.



example of a "motte and bailey," but a better descriptive title would be that of a double "motte."

The earthworks at Tara were undoubtedly prototypes of subsequent Irish fortifications.<sup>1</sup>

It has been suggested by Mrs. Armitage<sup>2</sup> that these earthworks are simply burial tumuli. A glance at the accompanying plan is sufficient to dispel this view as fanciful. Whatever might have been their earliest origin, the flat tops, the defensive fosses and ramparts, and the ramparted summit, demonstrate their military character as handed down to us.

On the south bank of the estuary of the Quoile, in swampy ground, marked on the 25-in. O.S. as being liable to floods, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Downpatrick, and within a quarter of a mile of St. Patrick's Cathedral, is situated one of the finest examples of the "motte and bailey" type of fortification. It is known as Rathkeltair.

Its only counterpart in England is the Castle Hill, at Thetford. It consists of a huge mound, irregularly cup-shaped on the summit, rising some 50 ft. to 60 ft. above its encircling ditch, and having a sloped ascent from the "bailey" or enclosure. This "bailey" surrounds three-fourths of the circumference of the mound, and is enclosed by two ramparts (and some remains of a third), with a deep and broad intervening fosse. The inner rampart is of great width and height, rising to some 40 ft. to 50 ft. above its fosse.

The entrances are circuitous, after the manner of those found in "Celtic" camps, such as the Herefordshire Beacon, and Yarnbury. The whole earthwork covers, in its present mutilated condition, an area of eight acres.

The "Annals of Ulster" and the "Annals of the Four Masters" state that the Anglo-Norman, John de Courcy, erected a castle at Dun-da-leath-glas in the year 1177, from which he twice sallied forth and inflicted defeat upon the Irish.

<sup>1</sup> "Book of Leinster" (compiled 1150-1160). The "dun" of Domhnall, son of Aedh, King of Ireland, was constructed after the mode of the houses of Tara.

<sup>2</sup> "The English Historical Review," vol. xx, No. 80, p. 717.

The "Annals of Innisfallen" (Dublin copy) state that he built a strong fort of stones and clay at Dun.

Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>1</sup> tells us that John de Courcy invaded Ulster with twenty men-at-arms and three hundred others, and that he entered the city of Down without opposition. Dunlevus, the king, fled, but gathering courage, assembled his forces and approached the city.

De Courcy thought it best to sally forth and meet the enemy, as his troops, *though few in number*, were full of courage; and thus try the fortune of battle, rather than be shut up in a fort which he had constructed of slight materials, *in one corner of the city*, where he might be exposed to a long siege and reduced by famine.<sup>2</sup>

Jocelin, a monk of Furness, at the suggestion of Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh (1181-1201), and by the request of John de Courcy, wrote a Life of St. Patrick (*ante* 1186), which contains an undoubted reference to this mount, and establishes its pre-Norman origin.

He relates how the hostages of Leogaire were liberated by St. Patrick; how the chains with which they were bound were broken; and how he placed one in a place at Dun, where now is erected the Church of St. Patrick, and the other in a neighbouring mount (*monticulus*), surrounded by a marsh of the sea; and that each place, even to this day, is called from the broken fetters, *Dun da leath glas*.<sup>3</sup>

Although this story is obviously a legend, the references

<sup>1</sup> Exp. Hib., lib. ii, cap. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Exp. Hib., lib. xi, cap. xvii, Rolls Series, p. 340:—"Prospiciens itaque Johannes hostiles acies acriter ad urbem accedere, quanquam manu modica, tamen pervalida, potius obviam exire, et viribus dimicando belli fata tentare, quam exili municipio, quod in urbis angulo tenuiter erexerat, diutius ab hoste claudi et fame confici longe praelegit."

<sup>3</sup> Jocelin's life of St. Patrick, Paris, 1624. "Unum illorum, in loco ubi nunc in Dun aedificata est Ecclesia Sancti Patricii, alterum in *Monticulo* vicino, circumcluso palude pelagi, dimisit, et catenas quibus vinculati erant, separatim confregit; uterque veró locus usque in praesens a catenis confractis vocabulum, scilicet Dun da Leath Glas sortitus est."

to Dun and to the mount are references to actual and contemporary topographical facts.

The accompanying plan will show the position of this mount on the estuary of the Quoile and *in the marsh of the sea*, also its relationship to the Church of St. Patrick. It is obvious that the mount of Jocelin could have occupied no other position.

Further evidence in support of this identification is afforded in the Itinerary of Father E. M'Can<sup>a</sup> (1643) who states that "the little hill called Dundaleathglas," from which Down takes its name, is situate outside the city on the north-east of that hill: (*i.e.*, the hill upon which St. Patrick's Cathedral stands).<sup>1</sup>

This exactly localises the position of Rathkeltair.

It is therefore impossible to identify the fort of de Courcy, in one corner of the city of Down, with the fort of Rathkeltair in its immediate neighbourhood.

The conclusion that this earthwork is of pre-Norman date is thus supported by the negative evidence of Giraldus and the positive evidence of Jocelin.

Mrs. Armitage<sup>2</sup> suggests that de Courcy subsequently erected the "motte and bailey." This surmise receives a complete answer from the reference in Jocelin, who calls it a *Dun* or fort, and from the characteristics of the earthwork already alluded to. In this connection, the extremely small following of the invader must not be overlooked.

The construction and defence of so large a fort would in itself be incompatible with the capacity and requirements of so small a body of men. The allusion in the "Annals of Innisfallen" (compiled about 1215) is interesting as probably having reference to the permanent castle of de Courcy at Dun. It was evidently a structure of stone.

Mr. George Neilson, in a very able Paper on the "Motes in Norman Scotland,"<sup>3</sup> has definitely established

<sup>1</sup> T. J. Westropp, "Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," Part iv, vol. xxxv, p. 405. The mount is really *north* of the Cathedral, which has not a true orientation, hence the statement that it is on the *north-east*.

<sup>2</sup> "English Historical Review," vol. xx, No. 80, p. 718.

<sup>3</sup> "Scottish Review," 1898, p. 209.

the claims of the Normans to the construction and occupation of some of these earthworks. He has, however, failed to show that they were of exclusively Norman origin. He lays great stress upon the striking coincidence of multiplicity of moated mound and Norman occupation in Celtic Galloway.

But whilst this parallel relationship holds good so far as Ayr, Wigtown, Kircudbright and Dumfries are concerned, it does not obtain in many other divisions of the country which were the seats of Norman holdings.

Thus one of the most prominent witnesses of the foundation Charter of Selkirk<sup>1</sup> is Hugo de Moreville, who was granted by David I extensive lands in Lauderdale and Lothian, as well as Ayrshire. Only two "motes," as far as present knowledge goes, are to be found in Lauderdale and Lothian, whilst in Ayr they are numerous. Again, we find Walterus de Lindesaya and Robertus de Bruneville in possession of portions of Mid and East Lothian, a district from which the moated mound is almost totally absent.

If Norman occupation were the essential factor in their genesis, we should, I think, find no such disparity.

Pursuing this question, we find that Malcolm, grandson of David, continued the Normanising policy of his ancestor. He invaded Moray in the year 1160, and "removed them (the natives) from the land of their birth, and scattered them throughout the other districts of Scotland, both beyond the hills and this side thereof, so that not even a native of that land abode there, and he installed therein his own peaceful people."<sup>2</sup>

If the exclusively Norman theory is correct, this transplantation should be marked by numbers of moated mounds. Yet in Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, Nairn, Elgin and Banff, Mr. Neilson can only point to four "motes."

Standing out alone amongst much that is difficult to explain is the Moot Hill of Scone, where, before the twelfth century, history places the Royal residence and

<sup>1</sup> Skene, "Celtic Scotland," vol. i, p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun, "Annalia," iv.

capital city of the kingdom of Alban, the "Hill of Belief" (*Collis credulitatis*) of the Pictish Chronicle.<sup>1</sup>

Tighernach (who died 1088) records in 728 an unfortunate battle between the Picts at "Caislen Credi."

The *Annals of Ulster*, in describing the same event, uses the expression, "juxta castellum credi."

In the *Great Seal Register* the mound is called "Mons-placita" and "Monticulum regiae sedis," 1387; Mutehill, 1607.

Here, then, we have evidence of the "Celtic" origin of the mound (defaced for the erection of a church, 1624), which was a "caislen," or castle, before the advent of the Normans; and which, during a long historical period, has been associated with a successive series of royal ceremonies.

Read in connection with the evidence from Tara, these facts strongly suggest the early origin of the mound fort.

In France, again, there is no real relationship between Norman occupation and the distribution of "mottes" or "buttes." We find them almost as plentiful in the central department of Saône-et-Loire as in the departments of Calvados and Pas-de-Calais.<sup>2</sup>

Little need be added with regard to their occurrence in countries definitely removed from Norman influence. Suffice it to say, that these mounts and courts conform to the various English types. Dr. Sophus Müller believes the Danish "mottes" to be of feudal origin, but indigenous to the country, and not of foreign importation.<sup>3</sup> Their earliest date must, therefore, be determined by fixing the growth of feudalism in Denmark.

Both Montelius and de Vernheith attribute their origin to the time of Charlemagne. Mortillet, although considering them pre-eminentlly feudal, dates their origin to the fifth century.

<sup>1</sup> "Ac in vi anno Constantinus Rex et Cellachus Episcopus, leges disciplinasque fidei atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in colle credulitatis prope regali civitati Scoan devoverunt custodiri."—"Chron. Picts and Scots," p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> G. de Mortillet, *Les Mottes*, "Revue Mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie," 1895, pp. 261-283.

<sup>3</sup> "Vor Oldtid," ch. xii

Cohausen<sup>1</sup> describes and figures many moated mounds, both simple and complex, as occurring in Germany.

I would draw attention to the excellent examples of mount and court earthworks at St. Ulrich, Hungary, and Stonegg, Bosnia.

Many instances of moated mounds, in or on the circle of enclosures, are to be found in the United States of America.

## II.—DEVELOPMENTAL EVIDENCE.

The small hill-fort would appear to be the natural prototype out of which the artificial mound-fort was developed. Generally speaking, the situation of the latter in fertile valleys and plains and on the course of rivers, is such that the natural hillock, by its absence, did not present itself as an object for fortification. Where there was no natural hill, it is probable that the artificial mound was thrown up. This method of defence is so obvious that it seems most improbable that it should be confined to one nation. The theory that our ancestors adapted themselves to the material at hand, affords, with certain reservations, a better explanation of the irregular geographical distribution of the moated mound than any appeal to specific nationality. Certain it is, that where a natural hill or rock would serve the purpose of an artificial "motte," it was seized upon by the Normans and other ancient peoples.

It is inherently probable that the converse of this is also true, not only of one nation, but of many.

The practice of the Normans in adapting a natural hill, as at Hedingham, to the purposes of defence was not a new one, for it conforms to the usage of many peoples.

The small hill-fort, of which comparatively few examples are to be found in England, is, *per se*, of unquestionably early date.

Thus the hill of Dunsinnane, the flat top of which measures 185 ft. by 105 ft. from crest to crest, is probably, as Dr. Christison has pointed out, the Dunsinoen of the *Annals of Ulster*, and the scene of the tragedy which led

<sup>1</sup> "Befestigungsweisen der Vorzeit und der Mittelalters,"

to the murder of Kenneth, King of Alban, in 995.<sup>1</sup> Here we have a drystone fort, showing some traces of vitrification, perched upon a knoll which has been scarped, terraced, and fossed by art.

The hill-fort of Dunbuie, with regard to which there has of late been so much controversy, has foundations of a nearly circular wall of drystone masonry,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  ft. thick, and encloses a space of 30 ft. to 32 ft. in diameter. Without entering into the discussion as to the nature of the finds, it is sufficient to state that this fort is undoubtedly early. Dr. Munro assigns it to the broch period.<sup>2</sup> It may here be mentioned that the Scottish brochs, evidently defensive works, probably date from the fifth to the tenth centuries. They, like many early or Celtic forts, are comparatively small.<sup>3</sup> The pre-Norman Cuan O'Lochian thus refers to hill-forts:—

“Temur every height, every eminence,  
On which is a dwelling, a good fortress,  
Temur every Ben not pointed.”

The same author's reference to Dumha-na-Ngiall (Mount of the Hostages) as the mound given by King Cormac to his hostages, is of interest. Whether this allusion is historical or legendary, it supports the view that in the tenth and eleventh centuries an artificial hillock was a recognised form of Irish residence.

This small size and necessarily early origin of many Celtic forts is here insisted upon, because great stress has been laid upon the smallness of the moated mound type of fortification, as demonstrating its personal character and feudal origin.<sup>4</sup> The argument from *area*,

<sup>1</sup> “Ann. Ult.,” A.D. 995, “Chron. Picts and Scots,” 175, 287 (Skene's “Celtic Scotland”).

<sup>2</sup> “Archæology and False Antiquities,” p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Christison has shown that over 50 per cent. of Scottish forts, many of which are early, measure less than 300 ft. over all. (“Early Fortifications in Scotland,” pp. 384, 385.) Pitt Rivers has also proved that some simple small ditched and banked enclosures date from the Bronze Age. These are the examples:—South Lodge Camp,  $\frac{3}{4}$  acre; Handley Hill,  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre; Martin Down Camp, 2 acres. (See “Excavations in Cranborne Chase,” vol. iv, pp. 3, 4, 5.)

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Armitage, “English Historical Review,” vols. xix and xx, and “Antiquary,” vol. ii, New Series, pp. 292, 293, 295.

superficially convincing as it is, receives a complete and overwhelming answer from the foregoing facts, which demonstrate conclusively that the small fort was not incompatible with the so-called *tribal* state. A better descriptive title would be *post-tribal* state.

But even if the evidence of the small early fort is ignored, there is good proof that the essence of feudalism—military service bound up with the tenure of land—existed on the Continent in the days of Charlemagne. The same holds good of England in pre-conquest days, as is very fully shown by Professor Maitland.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst fully recognising the influence of feudalism upon the evolution of the small fort, it must be conceded that it was not the only and essential factor in its creation.

Turning from the small hill-fort to the larger camps which, so far as the British Isles are concerned, are definitely Celtic, we find no evidence, as a rule, of a natural or artificial citadel. There are, however, some exceptions, and amongst earthworks of the *citadel* type, may be mentioned Old Sarum, the Herefordshire Beacon, Navan (Armagh), Dundurn, and Eddisbury Hill. Most important as a link in this chain of developmental evidence is the Herefordshire Beacon.

The citadel consists of a natural hillock, artificially scarped and fossed. It occupies the centre of the camp N. and S., but is placed near its western *enceinte*. The diameter of its irregularly flat top is 150 ft. by 100 ft. Attached to it is an oval enclosure, strongly defended to the north-east. This central portion of the huge Celtic camp is definitely of the mount and court, or “*motte and bailey*”, type. Its area corresponds approximately to those of Castle Hill, Thetford, and Rathkeltair, Downpatrick.

At Tara, as we have seen, where no natural hillock occupied the summit of the gently-rounded hill, an artificial mound was thrown up to form the citadel.

The same course was adopted at Navan (Armagh), where a large and artificial moated mound occupies the

<sup>1</sup> “Domesday and Beyond.” “The Feudal Superstructure,” pp. 150-172.



highest point of a twelve-acre ring-fort. This mound is flat-topped, 26 ft. high, and is surrounded by a ditch and slight rampart. This fort is undoubtedly early, and no proof is forthcoming of late or Norman occupation. At Dundurn, Scotland, the hill-fort has five enclosures, from one of which the citadel rises in the form of a rocky knoll, which has a flat top of 60 ft. to 70 ft. diameter. Where there are breaks in the cliff, the deficiency is made good by drystone walls. Skene identified this fort as the principal stronghold of Fortreun, and the Duinduirn of the "Annals of Ulster," 683.

Eddisbury, the fortress of Aethelfleda, may be added to this list of citadel camps. A knoll at the south-eastern extreme of the oval enclosure forms a natural "keep."

These examples warrant us in concluding that earthworks of the citadel type, in the form of natural knolls or artificial and moated mounds, were constructed in pre-Norman days.

If the chief man, or *tribal* king, occupied these citadels, it is possible that the lesser chieftain in *post-tribal* times constructed and occupied smaller works of a similar type, *i.e.*, moated mounds.

Reference must here be made to the largest moated mound in England—Silbury Hill. It occupies an area of four acres, and rises to a height of 100 ft. The summit is flat, with the exception of a small mound and depression, the result of comparatively recent exploration. An almost complete terrace surrounds the summit, at some distance down the steep decline. Its fosse and some remains of its rampart are well marked on its north and eastern circuit. The platform summit measures 100 ft. north and south, and 95 ft. east and west.

The defensive character of this earthwork is, I think, very definitely evidenced by its ditch, terrace, and flat top, all of which features are found in well-recognised defensive mounds. Whether this defence was for the security of a military post, or of a "temple," it is impossible to surmise. Excavation of this mound, both by vertical shaft and transverse tunnel into its basal centre, has failed to demonstrate its sepulchral character.

The only traces found were those of occupation, in the form of charcoal, antlers of red deer, and cords of twisted grass.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that both the ditch and the terrace of this mound have been much silted up by time.

The associations of Silbury Hill are Celtic rather than Saxon or Norman. Its proximity to the great stone circle of Avebury and to ancient British trackways also points to an early origin.

Its descriptive title of *bury*—a Saxon word applied to any defensive position—is, I think, further evidence of its military character. *Structurally*, it is undoubtedly a moated mound; and if further inquiry supports the theory of its defensive character, an important light will be thrown on the date of origin of this class of earthwork.

### III.—INTERNAL AND RELATIVE EVIDENCE.

Included under this heading are the special characteristics of certain earthworks, the relationship of some of them to adjoining structures, and the evidence of archæological "find."

The large size of certain earthworks (Thetford, Downpatrick) points rather to a tribal than a feudal origin.

When the *whole* position is defended by two or more circumvallations, as at Old Sarum, Downpatrick, Thetford and Kilfinnane, there is strong presumptive evidence of an early or "Celtic" origin; and when, in addition to this, the entries through the ramparts are circuitous, as at Downpatrick, an almost certain conclusion may be arrived at that they are of pre-Norman date. The tortuous entries of Yarnbury, and many another "Celtic" camp, afford sufficient support to this contention.

The close proximity of the mound and the village church is one of the commonplaces of archæological observation. Historical reference warrants the conclusion that the chief man of the district, whether Saxon or Norman,

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Smith, "British and Roman Antiquities of North Wiltshire," p. 153. As will be seen later, layers of charcoal and burnt earth are of frequent occurrence in French "mottes."

frequently erected a church in the immediate neighbourhood of his dwelling.<sup>1</sup> The possession of a church was one of the means by which a *ceorl* attained to *thegn-right*.<sup>2</sup>

It is a fair assumption to hold that the site of the present rural church is also, in a large number of instances, that on which its Saxon predecessor stood. This assumption becomes a demonstrable fact in a large number of churches which contain Saxon features.<sup>3</sup> If in a village of known Saxon antiquity the mound, or mound and enclosure, is in close proximity to a church which contains Saxon features, we have evidence of a relative and circumstantial character that the earthwork is of pre-Conquest date.

This evidence is, however, in itself, incomplete, and in the majority of instances, must necessarily remain so on account of the universality of the Norman occupation, for the invader may have thrown up his mound on a Saxon site. In one instance only is this relative evidence complete. At Earl's Barton, the late Saxon tower of the church stands upon a site which was once occupied by a portion of the ditch and counterscarp of the partially-destroyed moated mound which rises immediately from its north-western side. The northern half of the "motte" is intact, and is surrounded by a deep and broad ditch. The southern portion is almost destroyed, but there is definite evidence of its existence in the present churchyard. This is an especially interesting example, as it proves the pre-Norman origin of the "motte, and is a complete answer to those who contend that the Norman invader *invariably* erected a new type of earthwork (*i.e.*, "motte") upon the site of the Saxon stronghold. It may be urged that this "motte" is sepulchral, and in the absence of spade work no definite conclusion can be arrived at as to this contention. It is, however, certain that this mound, as handed down to us with its broad and deep ditch, is defensive in its character.

<sup>1</sup> Bede, "Hist. Eccles.," vol. v, pp. 4, 5; Round, "Archæologia," vol. lviii, p. 319, note.

<sup>2</sup> "Ranks and Laws."

<sup>3</sup> Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," p. 115, etc.

Laughton - en - le - Morthen may be cited as another example in which the evidence is strongly presumptive of Saxon origin. The mount and court is of the usual English type. Traces of a second enclosure exist, which, as Mr. I. C. Gould has pointed out, probably enclosed the church.

On the north side of the church is a Saxon doorway of dark red sandstone, and in the south wall of the chancel is a piscina of Saxon date. Part of this church is comparatively late Norman. Within a quarter of a mile is the village of Throapham and its early Norman church.

Laughton is mentioned in *Domesday* as the place where the Saxon "Count Edwin had his hall."<sup>1</sup>

The absence of early Norman work at Laughton and its presence at Throapham points to the conclusion that the earliest Norman settlement in this district centred itself round the latter place.

The proximity of the moated mound to the Saxon church, the distinctive mention of Edwin's hall in *Domesday*, and the fact that no record of a Norman castle is forthcoming, must, I think, be considered very weighty evidence in support of the view that this earthwork is of Saxon origin.

In England there has been a lamentable lack of scientific spade work in connection with moated mounds. This must be attributed to the too-ready acceptance of the theories of one antiquary after another, as a final solution of the subject. The present tendency to accept historical reference as final proof has undoubtedly militated against scientific enquiry by exploration. Our evidence in the form of archæological "find" is therefore scanty. Whilst in some instances nothing has been found which points to a greater than Norman antiquity, in others a Saxon or even earlier occupation is indicated.

At Duffield, Derbyshire, there is a large mound about

<sup>1</sup> The term *hall* was applied in *Domesday* in the widest sense, embracing on the one hand the house of the lesser thegn, and on the other hand the manor itself (D.B., i, 263, i, 337 b, ii, 408 b). The "motte and bailey," which William I built outside the west gate of Winchester is called a *domus regis* in *Domesday*, and an *Aula* in a charter of Henry I to Hyde Abbey. Note also the half-hide in *Droitwich*, which belonged to the (King's) *hall* at Gloucester.

10 ft. high, and an attached enclosure. Upon the mound stands the remains of a Norman keep.

Excavation of the mound resulted in the discovery of a large variety of Anglo-Saxon objects, on the top of the mound at some little depth from the surface. An amber bead and bronze brooch were amongst the "finds."

Three distinct pre-Norman deposits of pottery fragments and other *débris* were found in successive layers in this earthwork.<sup>1</sup>

The mound of the "motte and bailey" earthwork at Burton-in-Lonsdale has recently been explored by Mr. H. M. White.<sup>2</sup>

At a depth of 4 ft. from the summit of the mount a rude pavement was found. This was covered by a thin layer of black ash, in which pieces of charred wood were visible. This wood was in no case dressed. A great quantity of animal bones were found, also a portion of a human skull. On this pavement was found a bone needle, also a small arrow-head of yellow flint. The whole of the earthwork was paved. The pavement was raised towards the circumference, so as to form a parapet or rude wall. A second pavement was also discovered, with black ash and fragments of bones. A well-mortared wall was also found surrounding the circumference of the "motte."

This probably late Norman wall did not follow the same lines as the rude parapet of the pavement; its lowest foundations were invariably several inches above the highest level of the pavement. It is more than probable that the Norman occupiers had no knowledge of the pavement. The extension of this pavement to the base-court appears to indicate the same early date for the whole earthwork.

We have thus at Duffield, and Burton-in-Lonsdale, definite evidence of Norman occupation of pre-existing "motte and bailey" earthworks.

The "motte and bailey" at Green - Mount, county Louth, was excavated in 1870. A chamber was found in

<sup>1</sup> "Victoria County History of Derbyshire," pp. 382, 383.

<sup>2</sup> "Excavations in Castle Hill, Burton-in-Lonsdale," "Antiquary," November, 1905, New Series, vol. i, No. 11.

the "motte," which contained charcoal, burnt earth, and animal bones. A bronze axe, a bronze plate, and a strap or belt-mounting of bronze were also found. On the back or the belt were found the following words in Runic letters :—"Domnal seal's-head owned this sword."<sup>1</sup>

M. Vigfusson pronounced the lettering to be of the eleventh century. It is extremely unlikely that so many bronze objects could have been *swept up* in the making of this mound.

Two urns were found in the rampart of the "bailey" of the mount and court at Croghan, Kinsella.<sup>2</sup>

In the "bailey" of the mount and court at Skeirk were found urns and traces of burial.<sup>2</sup>

The bearing of these discoveries will be appreciated when it is remembered that burial within the fort was an ancient custom. The simple "motte" of Kildare revealed at different heights thin layers of animal bones, in all probability the refuse of successive and rude occupations.<sup>2</sup>

Like evidence of successive occupation is furnished in the case of lake-dwellings, and the Terra-mare of Italy.

In France many "mottes" have been explored, The "finds" in most cases point to a late mediæval occupation.

M. Gabriel de Mortillet,<sup>3</sup> in a Paper on "Les Mottes" in France, comes to the conclusion that they date from the fifth century, and that the majority are feudal in origin.

They are distributed throughout the whole of the country, and bear no essential relationship to Norman occupation. Like the moated mounds of the British Isles, they vary in size, the diameter of the summit ranging from 3 mètres to 80 mètres.

The following "finds" indicate occupation by people in a comparatively rude stage of civilization :—

"Noires-Mottes," one of three "mottes" formed out of a natural hill overlooking the sea (Pas-de-Calais), yielded

<sup>1</sup> T. J. Westropp, "Irish Motes and Early Norman Castles," "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," vol. xxxiv, December, 1904, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "Les Mottes," "Revue Mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris," viii, 15 Aout, 1895.

Neolithic and Roman remains, cut flints, and the bones of the reindeer, pointing to a series of successive occupations.

The "Motte des Luquets" (Haute Garonne) yielded black earth, mixed with cinders and charcoal, at different heights. One layer was a mètre in depth.

The "Motte of Saint Eloy" (Creuse) revealed a small drystone *enceinte*, containing human bones, at the level of the natural soil. Here we have evidence of the sepulchral origin of a "motte," subsequent occupation being proved by the discovery of a layer of charcoal and carbonised wheat at about one mètre from its summit.

On the "Motte d'Ergué Armel" (Finistère) traces of vitrification were found.

On the "Motte of Machezal" (Loire) was found a rectangular enclosure of drystone masonry, 8 to 9 mètres square. This enclosure was surrounded by another wall, entirely vitrified on its exterior.

Some of the pottery found in French "mottes" dates from the end of the Roman occupation, but the larger portion is of a later period.

Superimposed layers of charcoal, cinders, animal bones, and burnt earth, are characteristic of a large proportion of those which have been explored.

The cut flints, the drystone masonry, and the vitrification, point, in some examples, to a very early origin; whilst the superimposed layers of burnt earth, charcoal, and animal bones suggest successive occupation by a somewhat primitive people.

With these facts before us, we are justified in concluding that some "mottes" have an origin far antedating the eleventh century—the century that first affords us historical knowledge of their existence.

Sufficient evidence is thus forthcoming to justify the contention that it is impossible, in an enquiry of this kind, to divorce archæology from history, and to warrant renewed attention to the question of "motte" exploration.

#### IV.—HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.

Probably, the first fairly definite historical evidence of the erection of the mound type of castle is to be found in

the reference of William of Jumièges<sup>1</sup> to the mounds (*aggeres*) thrown up by Duke William's rebellious subjects in the days of his youth. As has already been seen, it is probable that the construction of this class of castle was no new thing, and that in the absence of the natural rock the mound had been thrown up for many centuries previously.

This inference seems all the more probable because it can be shown by numerous references in Continental Chronicle, that fortifications of the personal type, namely, castles in the ordinary acceptation of the term, had existed on the Continent for centuries prior to the evolution of the Norman nationality.

Thus the Bishop of Treves erected a personal castle on the banks of the Moselle in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> His method of fortification was very similar to that of later peoples. A rocky knoll or hill was seized: it was shorn of trees and undergrowth, and a castle—of stone in this case—was built upon its summit. Two arms of its wall

<sup>1</sup> "Sub eius ineunte aetate, Normannorum plurimi aberrantes ab eius fidelitate, plura per loca aggeres erexerunt et tutissimas sibi munitiones construxerunt." Du Chesne, "Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui," p. 267 D. Although the contemporary meaning of the word *agger* was probably that of a high mound, it must not be forgotten that the usual sense of the word is that of earth or any convenient material *thrown up*. Thus Eginhard speaks of the earth swelling up like a mound (*in modum aggeris terra intumuit*) a league in length. Bouquet, vol. vi, p. 181 D. The monk of St. Gall calls the walls of a city an *agger*. Bouquet, vol. v, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> "Mons in præcipiti suspensa mole tumescit  
Et levat excelsum saxeæ ripa caput.  
Rupibus expositis, intonsa cacumina tollit,  
Totus et elato vertice regnat apex.

"Turribus incinxit terdenis undique collem,  
Præbuit hic fabricam, quo nemus ante fuit.  
Vertice de summo demittunt brachia murum,  
Dum Mosella suis terminus exstet aquis.

"Turris ab adverso quæ constitit obvia clivo,  
Sanctorum locus est, arma tenenda viris.  
Illic est etiam gemino ballista volatu,  
Quæ post se mortem linguit, et ipsa fugit."

"Venantius Fortunatus." Migne, vol. lxxxviii, pp. 135, 136, 137.



were extended downwards to the river, which formed a natural boundary.

Thus we have a natural hill corresponding to the artificial "motte," and a "bailey," or enclosure, formed by the two extensions of the castle wall and the River Moselle.

The many early and contemporary references to personal castles in the form of citadels in Continental chronicles are too numerous to detail. Two will suffice:—the tenth century chronicler tells us that the citadels of Laon and Coucy were towers.

When the Abbot Artaldus seized the town of Coucy, the steward of Theobald fled for refuge into the citadel, which was a very strong tower—*Erat autem turris illa firmissima*.<sup>1</sup>

Again, when King Louis takes the town of Laon by night, he makes prisoners of all the guards except those who have climbed into the citadel: *praeter eos qui turrim regiae domus conscenderant quam ipse ad portam castris fundaverat*.<sup>2</sup>

It is therefore probable that the Normans were mere copyists, and that the mount and court, the tower and courtyard, did not originate with them.

A few references to mounds (*aggeres*) used by the besiegers in the wars of the Northmen may be instanced.

Thus, when Hastings had fortified a church, the Christians having surrounded the place made preparations to storm it on the following day, when they intended to throw up mounds: *ut in crastinum extructis aggeribus*.<sup>3</sup>

Hastings, when he laid siege to Tours, threw up mounds—*aggeres etiam struit*.<sup>4</sup>

At Meaux, the Northmen probably erected a siege fort, much in the same manner as the *malvoisin* of Rufus at Bamburgh and the *castellum* of Henry I at Bridgenorth.

They sat down to a regular siege, until the garrison, wearied out by death and famine, surrendered.

<sup>1</sup> "Frodoardus," an. 958. Bouquet, vol. viii, p. 211 B.

<sup>2</sup> "Frodoardus," an. 959. Bouquet, vol. viii, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> "Annals of Metz," an. 867. Bouquet, vol. vii, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> "St. Odo, Abbot of Cluny." Bouquet, vol. vi, p. 318 c

They here erected a mound—*Interim Nortmanni Mel-dis civitatem obsidione vallant, machinas instruunt, aggerem comportant ad capiendam urbem.*<sup>1</sup>

The wooden fort—*castella materiâ lignea*—of King Lewis at Etrun is curiously suggestive of the *castrum ligneum* of the period of the Norman Conquest.<sup>2</sup>

None of his nobles could be prevailed upon to hold this post of danger. This castle was evidently something more than a mere stockaded structure; and it is suggested that the fortification was probably a mount and court, with a wooden tower on the mound.

Thus far, none of the references given are such as would wholly satisfy the scientific historian. The Bayeux Tapestry—a work, probably, of the late eleventh century—however, definitely depicts these interesting structures.

Here is shown the mound at Hastings in process of construction. It should also be noted that the best illustrations are those of the mound castles of Celtic Brittany.

The Tapestry places the case for Norman origin and occupation beyond all doubt.

It also—in a less definite but sufficiently indicative manner—points to the existence of the moated mound in England prior to the Norman Conquest.

In the scene of the so-called fosse disaster, and under the legend “*Hic ceciderunt simul Angli et Franci in prelio,*” the record depicts a rampart, a fosse, and a flat-topped mound. Partly concealing the rampart and fosse is shown some rank and sedge-like grass, or growing herbage.

The Normans are attacking, and are depicted tumbling horses and men into the ditch at the foot of the mound, which is occupied by a body of light-armed English, who

<sup>1</sup> “*Annals of St. Vedast*,” an. 887. Bouquet, vol. viii, p. 87 D.

<sup>2</sup> “*Annales Bertinenses*,” an. 881. Bouquet, vol. viii, p. 35. “*Iterum namque Nortmannis regredientibus in partem regni sui, isdem Ludovicus cum quibus potuit obviam eis perrexit, et castellum materiâ ligneâ quorundam Consiliariorum suorum hortatu in loco qui dicitur Stroms clausit. Quod magis ad munimen paganorum quam ad auxilium Christianorum factum fuit, quoniam ipse Rex Ludovicus invenire non potuit cui illud castellum ad custodiendum committere posset.*”

stand at bay, strenuously endeavouring to stem the tide of the enemies' assault.

A glance of this scene is sufficient to dispel Mr. Round's<sup>1</sup> contention that it delineates the real or feigned flight of the Normans and their pursuit by the English. I am, however, in agreement with him in regarding the scene as illustrating a single incident, of which the salient topographical features are a *mound* and *ditch*.

Now this pictorial evidence does not stand alone; it is supported by the testimony of the contemporary historian, William of Jumièges,<sup>2</sup> whose mention of the growing herbage or rank grass appears to me very completely to identify the historical account with the scene in the record. Further, there would seem to be no valid reason for supposing that the *antiquus agger* of Jumièges differed in any essential sense from the fortified mounds which he tells us Duke William's rebellious subjects erected in Normandy, or the high mounds of Bedford and Pevensey mentioned by the author of the *Gesta Stephani*.<sup>3</sup> The *agger* necessarily implied an accompanying fosse, into which the pursuing Normans fell; and this, together with the picture in the Tapestry, explains an account which is otherwise difficult to understand. Ordericus Vitalis, our earliest secondary authority, supports and amplifies Jumièges' account of the last stand of the English at the Battle of Hastings. He explains that thus doubtless confidence returned to the flying English; for, seeing the advantage of the precipitous rampart and many ditches, they collected in a body, resisted unexpectedly, and inflicted great slaughter on the Normans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Feudal England," pp. 375, 376, 377, 378.

<sup>2</sup> Duchesne, p. 287 C:—"Nam crescentes herbæ antiquum aggerem tegebant, ubi summopere currentes Normanni cum equis et armis ruebant, ac sese, dum unus repente super alterum cadebat, vicissim extinguebant. Ibi nimirum ut ferunt, ferme xv milia perierunt."

<sup>3</sup> Duchesne, p. 972 d:—"Est quidem Penevesel castellum editissimo aggere sublatum;" *Ibid.*, p. 938 b: "Sed quia castellum editissimo aggere vallatum, muro forti et arduo in circuitu cinctum, inquassabili turri et forti firmatum;"

<sup>4</sup> Duchesne, p. 501 d:—"Nam crescentes herbæ antiquum aggerem tegebant, etc." "Ibi nimirum fugientibus Anglis rediit confidentia. Cernentes enim opportunitatem prærupti valli et frequentium fossarum,

William of Poitiers<sup>1</sup> is in practical agreement with the above authorities: with the exception that he speaks of a *prærumpti vallis* and not a *prærumpti valli*. I venture to suggest that *vallis* is a copyist's error, and that it should be read as *valli*.

All three historians agree as to the loss sustained by the Normans at this crisis of the battle, and their testimony is supported by the Tapestry.

Both Poitiers and Orderic state that Eustace of Boulogne counselled flight at this stage of the battle. He is shown in the Tapestry in close proximity to Duke William, and immediately after the mound and fosse disaster.

This ancient mound and these frequent fosses in an uninhabited part can mean nothing but the remains of an ancient camp. The evidence of the Tapestry and of the historians just quoted strongly supports the view that a mound or "motte" was a salient feature of this camp. I am well aware that this association of the scene in the Tapestry with the accounts given by the earlier historians of the flight and last stand of the English at the close of the battle does not agree with the readings of either Mr. Round or the late Mr. Freeman; but I hope to bring further evidence at some future time to show that this scene cannot be reconciled with the narratives of Huntingdon and Wace.

The objection that in the above account I have violated the chronological sequence of the Tapestry is not of great importance, for we know that chronological order is not one of the strong points of the record.<sup>2</sup>

in unum collecti sunt, inopinato restiterunt, et Normannis magnam stragem fortiter intulerunt."

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne, p. 203 d:—"Rediit tamen fugientibus confidentia, nactes ad renovandum certamen maximam opportunitatem, prærumpti vallis [?] valli] et frequentium fossarum."

<sup>2</sup> It records the burial of Edward the Confessor before his death. Note also the scenes relating to the transfer of Harold from Count Guy to Duke William. How impossible it is in a pictorial record to ensure both topographical and chronological accuracy is shown by the fact that the Tapestry places the death of Harold at a different locality to that of his brothers, Leofwin and Gurth, whereas we know that they were all slain upon the same site of the battle-field.—William of Poitiers: "Propius Regem fratres eius duo reperti sunt."

It has been urged, that in the mount scene on the Tapestry, the fosse does not encircle the "motte"; we have, however, seen that good examples of this arrangement are still extant. The tree on the mound is quite consistent with Jumièges' description of an *antiquus agger*.

The interesting account of the moated mound at Merchem (early twelfth century) is the first definitely descriptive testimony of the construction of this class of earthwork. Here the ditch, the flat-topped mound with its wooden tower, and the wooden stairway leading from the counterscarp of the ditch to the top of the mound, are all described. The description is that of an old and familiar type of fortification, for it was raised by the lord of the town many years ago—*a domino villæ ipsius multis retro annis extracta*.<sup>1</sup> The delineations of the Tapestry and the reference in the *Acta Sanctorum* relate to feudal times. With the exceptions of Tara and Dunlethglas, we have no direct *historical* evidence pointing to an earlier period.

The question which has now to be considered is this:—Does analogy suggest that it is probable that mound building for purposes of defence was practised in Europe in pre-feudal times, *i.e.*, in the so-called tribal state? I think the answer must be in the affirmative, for the Spaniards found this to be the common practice of the natives of Florida in the sixteenth century. Garcilasso de la Vega describes the houses of the chieftains as being situated on artificial eminences, having a flat or platform top and graded ascents. At the foot of the mound was situated a square, in which dwelt his lesser retainers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Acta Sanctorum," Januarii 27. Vita Sti. Johannis Epis. See also "M. M. A.," G. T. Clark, pp. 33, 34.

<sup>2</sup> "La ville et la maison du Cacique Ossachilé, sont semblables à toutes celles des autres Caciques de la Floride. C'est pourquoi sans faire une description particulière de cette place et de cette maison, il semble, à propos de donner seulement une idée générale de toutes les Capitales, et de toutes les maisons des Seigneurs du pays. Je diray donc que les Indiens tâchent de placer leurs villes sur des endroits élevez; mais à cause que dans la Floride, il se rencontre rarement de ces sortes de lieux, où l'on puisse trouver les commoditez nécessaires pour bastir, ils élevent eux-mêmes des éminences en cette manière, ils

He states that these artificial mounds were steeply scarped, and that they commanded the whole place. *Le logis du Cacique est sur une éminence qui commande à la ville* (pt. ii, p. 132). These artificial mounds, both round and rectangular, are shown in the accompanying illustrations.

Artificial mounds, crowned with wooden towers, were occupied down to a comparatively late date in England. Thus, a little more than a century earlier than the American reference, we have the description of Owen Glendower's castle at Sycharth, by Iolo Goch, a contemporary poet :—

“There dwells the chief we all extol,  
In timber house on lightsome knoll;  
Upon four wooden columns proud  
Mounteth his mansion to the cloud.”

Probably the latest record of the actual building of a “motte” is that of Roscrea in Ireland.

In an Inquisition of 29 Henry III (Cal. 1, 412) a “motte” and “bretasche” is recorded as having been built here in the reign of King John. This must have been the Castle of Roscrea, noticed in *The Four Masters* under the year 1212.

I cannot conclude this Paper without some reference to

choisissent une place où ils apportent une quantité de terre, qu'ils élevent en une espece de plateforme haute de deux ou trois piques, et dont le dessus est capable de tenir dix ou douze, quinze ou vingt maisons pour loger le Cacique, avec sa famille et toute sa suite. Ils tracent après au pied de cette hauteur une place quarrée conforme à l'étendue de la ville qu'ils veulent faire, et autour de cette place les plus considerables bastissent leurs demeures. Le petit peuple se loge de la mesme sorte; et ainsi ils environnent tous la maison de leur Seigneur. Pour y monter ils tirent en droite ligne des ruës de haut en bas, chacun de 15, ou vingt pieds de large, et les joignent les unes aux autres avec de grosses poutres qui entrent fort avant en terre, et qui servent de murailles à ces ruës. Ensuite ils font les escaliers avec de fortes solives qu'ils mettent en travers, qu'ils assemblent et qu'ils esquarent, afin qui l'ouvrage soit plus uny. Ils éloignent les degrez de ces escaliers de sept ou huit pieds des uns des autres; de sorte que les chevaux les montent et les descendent sans peine. Du reste, à la reserve des escaliers, les Indiens escarpent les autres costez de la plateforme; aussi l'on n'y peut monter, et le logis du Seigneur est assez fort.” *“Histoire de la Conquête de la Floride.”* Garcilasso de la Vega. Translated by P. Richelet, ch. xxvii, p. 136. 1711.

the recent trend of antiquarian opinion—as reflected in the Papers of Mrs. Armitage and Mr. St. John Hope—in the direction of regarding the *burhs* of Alfred, Aethelfleda, and Edward as invariably fortified towns or settlements. The *burh* of the Saxon signified any defensive position—small or large—and was applied throughout a whole series of gradations, from the six-hundred-man's house, on the one hand, to the large fortified town on the other. Of this there cannot be a doubt.

The laws of Alfred,<sup>1</sup> with regard to *burh-bryce*, amply prove that the term was applied to the small defensive position, or house: and they therefore have a most important bearing upon this question, seeing that they were in force at a time coincident with the commencement of the great *burh*-building age of the Chronicle.

The word was used in the sense of *house* in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 784, when King Cynewulf was slain in the *burh* at Merton.

So far as the Anglo-Saxon laws are concerned, it is probable that the extension of the term *burh* from the fortified house to the fortified group of houses was a gradual one. Nevertheless, it is probable that at a very early period it was applied to all classes of defensive positions.<sup>2</sup> As early as 886, London is described as a *burh* in the Chronicle. King Alfred restored *Lunden burh*. It is quite clear that many of the *burhs* of the Chronicle must be rendered as towns, and that Alfred, Aethelfleda, and Edward simply restored still existing—though de-

<sup>1</sup> See Maitland, "Domesday and Beyond," pp. 183, 184. *Alfred*, 40, *Ine*, 45. The King's *burh-bryce* is 120 shillings; an archbishop's, 90 shillings; another bishop's, 60 shillings; a twelve-hundred-man's, 30 shillings; a six-hundred man's, 15 shillings; a ceorl's *edor-bryce*, 5 shillings.

<sup>2</sup> Searobyrg, A.-S. Chr., 552; Cnoberisburg, More, MS. of Bede, circa 727; the first a British hill-fort, the second a Roman station.

An *earth-burh*—*eorþbyrig* is given as one of the limits of the five hides of land at Eardulfeslea, in a charter of King Aethelred, 995; Thorpe, "Diplomatarium Anglicum aevi Saxonici," p. 295.

In our own times, we also find the same wholesale application:—Yarnbury, a typical "Celtic" camp; Berry Ring, Staffordshire, a circular enclosure; Bury Mount, Towcester, Bury Mount, Earl's Barton, Silbury Hill—all artificial and moated mounds.

molished—*encientes* in many instances, such as London, Chester, etc.

It has, however, been too readily inferred from this very evident fact, that the Saxons did not build and occupy forts as distinguished from towns. This inference cannot be upheld in the light of further inquiry. Thus, the *geweorc* of Alfred, at Athelney, was a fort in the ordinary acceptance of the term.

The two *geweorcs* which he wrought on the Lea in 896 were undoubtedly forts, probably connected by means of a boom laid across the river. These *works* forcibly remind us of the fortified bridges and bridge-heads which Charles the Bald erected to block the progress or regress of the Danish invaders.<sup>1</sup> It is more than probable that the works of Charles were known to Alfred.

The terms *geweorc* and *burh* are equated in the Chronicle in more than one instance, especially in the cases of Huntingdon and Tempsford. Asser tells us that Alfred not only built and restored cities and towns, but also ordered castles to be erected.<sup>2</sup>

Further, that owing to the slothfulness of the people, these forts were frequently only half finished when the invaders broke in and put them to the sword.

This separate and distinctive reference to castles can, I think, have no other meaning than that of fort, although in O. E. Latin the word *castellum* is sometimes used in the sense of fortified city. This view receives the support of the two most recent authorities upon this period of English history.<sup>3</sup>

In a nation so essentially rural and agricultural as the Anglo-Saxon, it is but reasonable to suppose that the fortified cities alone would afford but a very partial protection against the inroads of the Danes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Annales Bertinenses," 862. Bouquet, vol. viii, pp. 302, 303, E. "Saepedictus etiam Karolus Rex Francorum pontem mirae firmitatis adversus impetus Danorum, . . . super fluvium Sequanam fieri fecit, positus in utrisque capitibus castellis artificiose fundatis, in quibus praesidia collocavit."

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Stevenson's "Asser," pp. 78, 79; "Castella," "Arces."

<sup>3</sup> Plummer, "Alfred the Great," p. 111; Stevenson's "Asser," Note 91, p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> The distinctive mention of castles or forts is not a proof that they



In 894, Alfred divided his army into two : half were to take the field, and half to remain at home, besides those who were to hold the *burhs*.

The generic and wide sense of the term *burh* is made plain by the rendering given to this passage by Florence of Worcester.<sup>1</sup> Again, in the great gathering of the Saxons prior to the Battle of Buttington (894), we are told that the King's thanes, who were at home in the works (*geweorcs*), collected together from every *burh* east of the Parret, etc.

Florence once more makes it plain that these works and *burhs* were not solely towns, but that some of them were simply fortified positions or forts.<sup>2</sup>

Bearing in mind this wide or generic application of the word *burh*, let us now examine a few examples.

A charter of Aethelred of Mercia and Aethelfleda, his wife, states that they have commanded the *burh* at Worcester to be built as a protection to all the people.<sup>3</sup>

The *burh*, be it noted was built *at*, and not *round*, Worcester. The charter goes on to speak of certain rights, either in the market-place or in the street, both within the *burh* and without.

Mrs. Armitage unhesitatingly contends that in this instance the term *burh* was used in the sense of a town *enceinte*.

The context throws considerable doubt upon this view, and makes it equally probable that a fortress was constructed at Worcester—a place of refuge in time of danger.

Just as the above *burh* was built *at* Worcester, so also a reference to the Chronicle demonstrates that were of the "motte and bailey" type, but it shows that some of the *burhs* of Alfred were compatible with this type.

<sup>1</sup> "Quo cognito, Rex Aelfredus partem exercitus secum assumens, partem, ut solebat, domi relinquens, nonnullos etiam praesidii causa in castellis urbibusque constituens, Cantiam festinato proficiscitur;" "E. H. S.," p. 110.

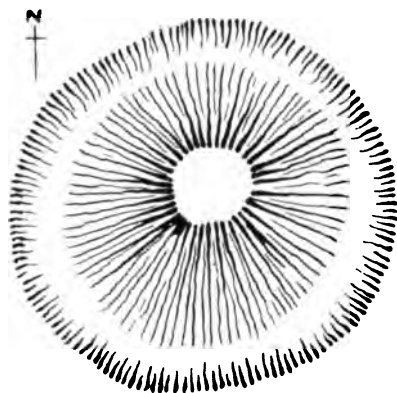
<sup>2</sup> "Quorum nimiam infestationem duces nobilissimi, Aetheredus, Aethelmus, Aethelnothus, caeterique ministri regis, quos ipse praesidii causa per munitones per oppida, per urbes, non solum in orientali plaga Prededant; etc." "E. H. S.," p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Thorpe, "Diplomatarium Anglicum aevi Saxonici," p. 137.



**DINAN.**

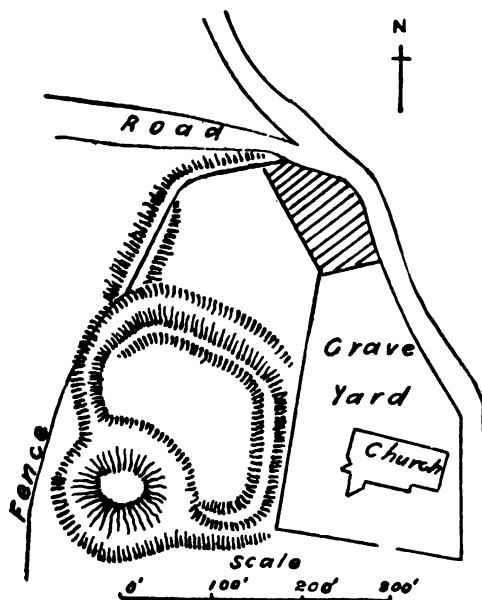
**From the Bayeux Tapestry.**



*Clifford's Hill*  
*Northamptonshire*

0' 100' 200' 300'

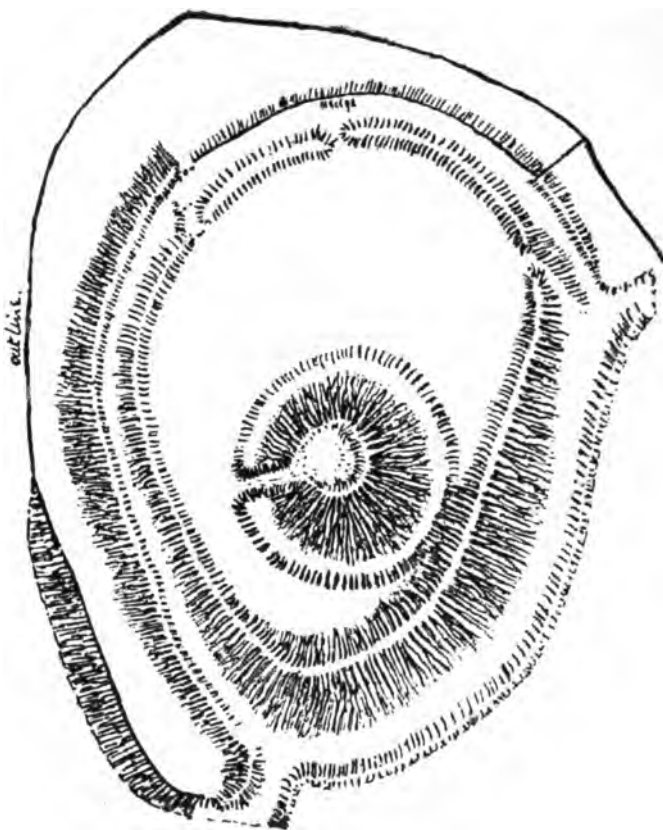
Scale, 208 ft. to 1 in.



**LAUGHTON EN LE MORTHEN**  
**YORKSHIRE**

Scale, 208 ft. to 1 in.



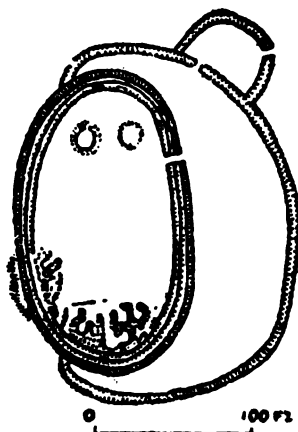


(Scale, 208 ft. to 1 in.)

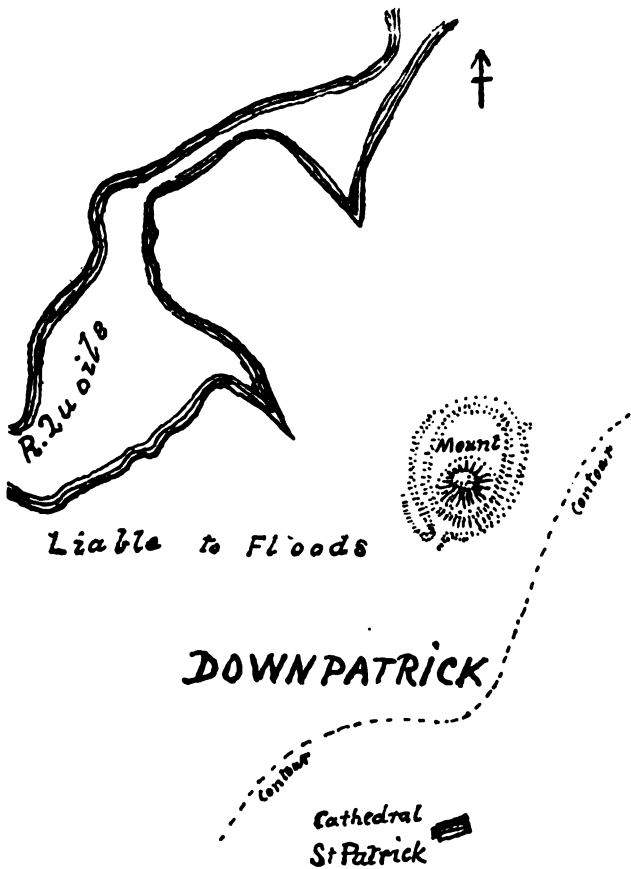
RATHKELTAIR OR DUNKELTAIR, DOWN-PATRICK, CO. DOWN.



STONEGG, BOSNIA.

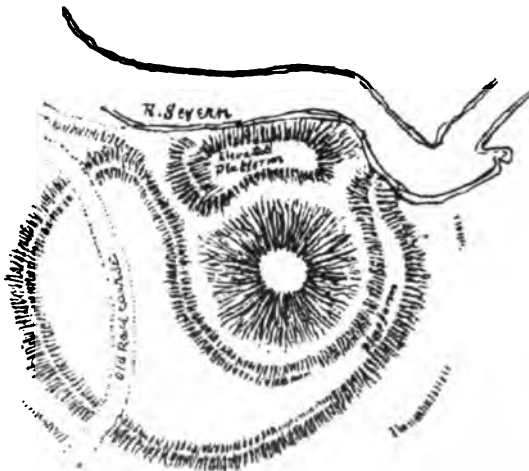


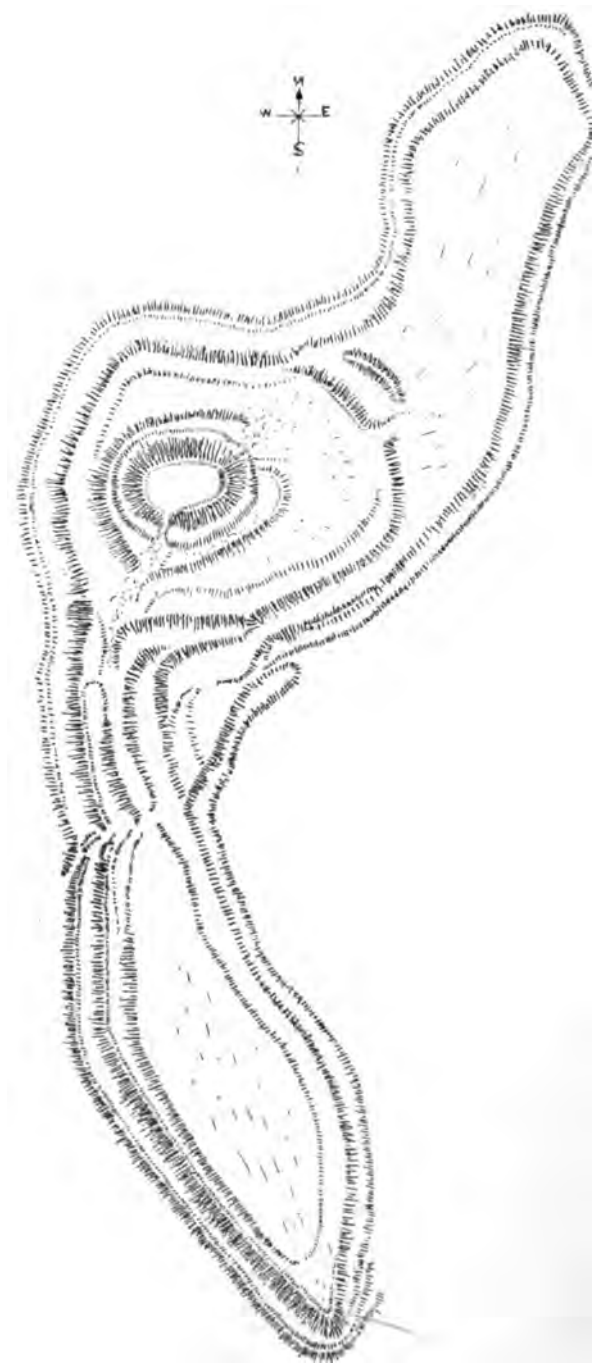
DUN CONOR, INISHERE.



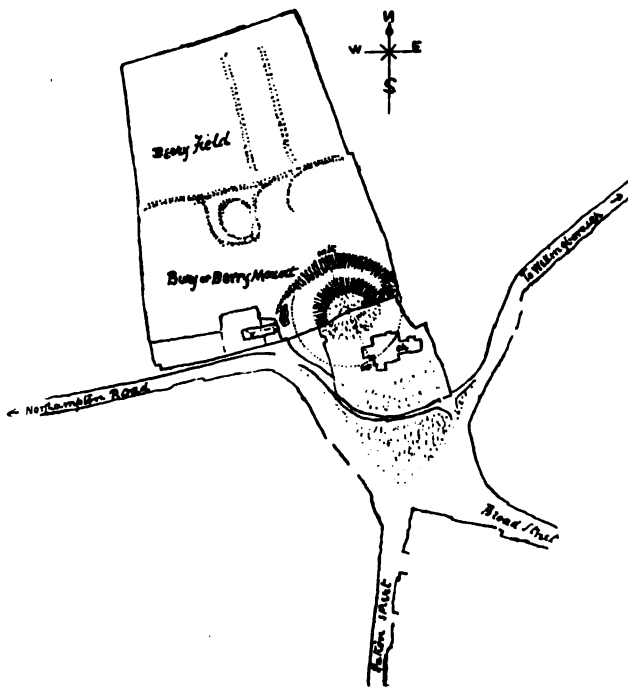
## DOWNPATRICK

POSITION OF RATHKELTAIR.





HEREFORDSHIRE BEACON. (Scale, 208 ft. to 1 in.)

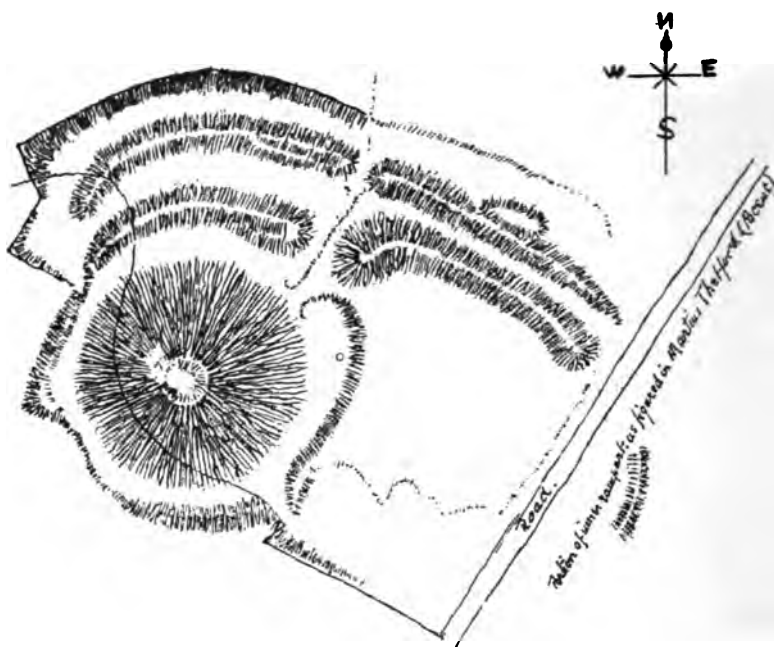


EARLS BARTON MOUND AND CHURCH. (Scale, 208 ft. to 1 in.)

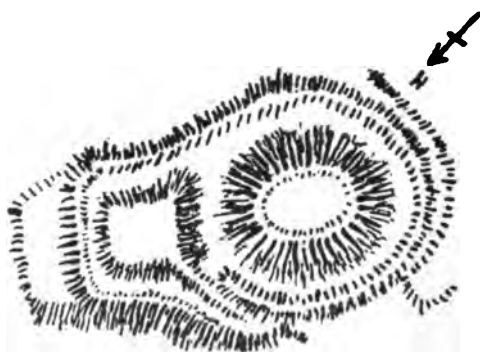


GREAT MOUND AT MARIETTA, OHIO.

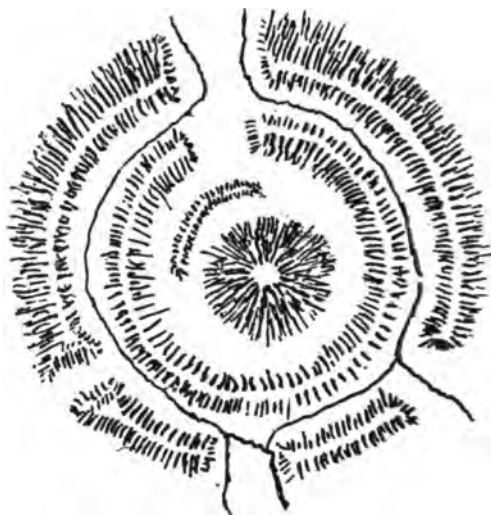




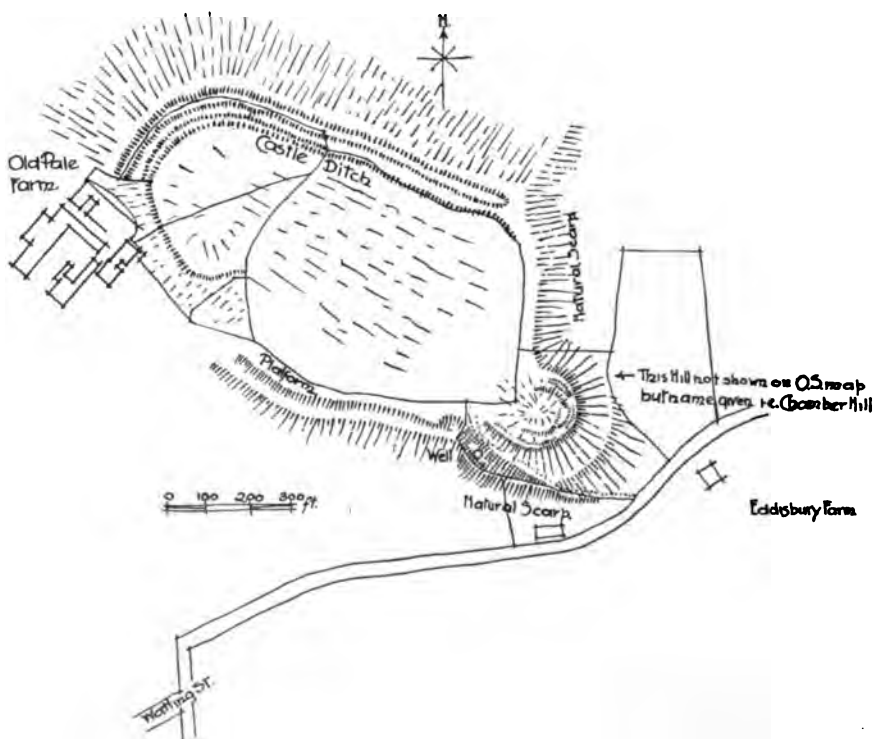
CASTLE HILL, THETFORD. (Scale, 208 ft. to 1 in.)



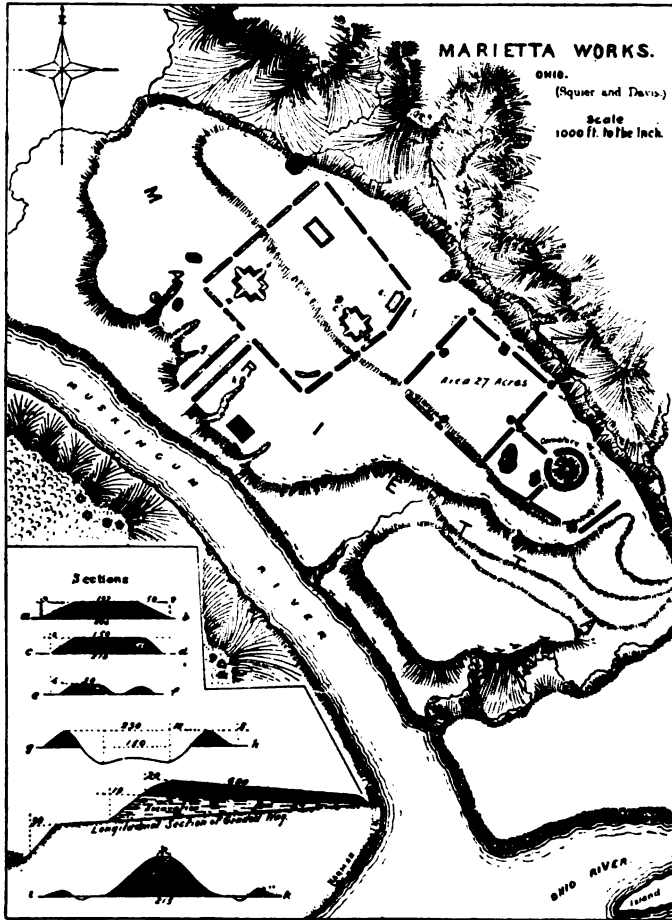
ST. ULRICH, HUNGARY.

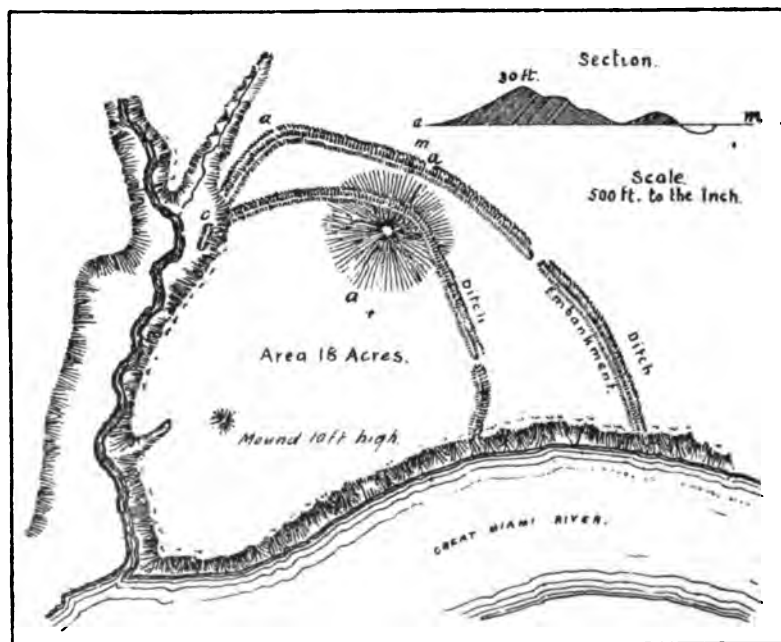
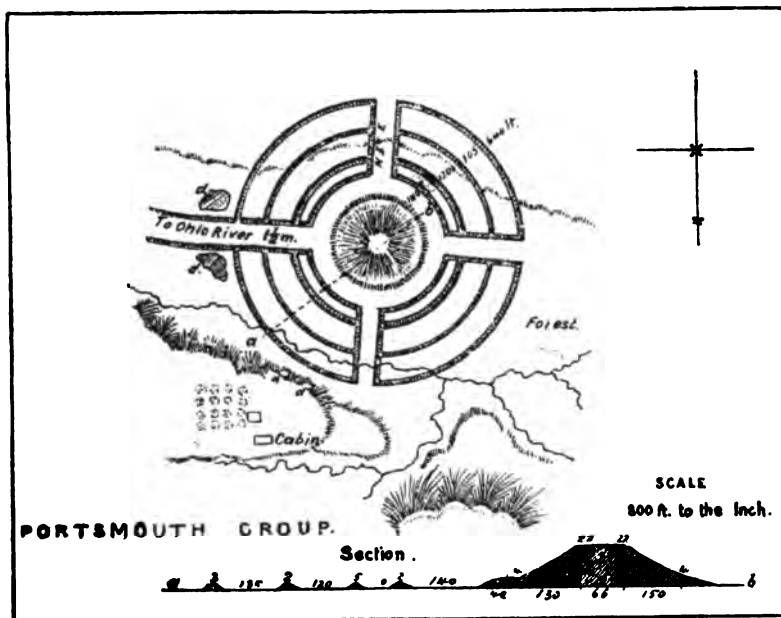


BACKER SCHLOSS.



EDDISBURY HILL.





DEFENSIVE EARTHWORK AND MOUND. HAMILTON, BUTLER COUNTY, OHIO.





RY.

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RY.





the majority of the *burhs* of Aethelfleda and Edward were wrought *at* certain places and in certain strategic positions.

Many of them were evidently designed for the purpose of commanding or barring the passage of rivers. Thus the two *burhs* at Buckingham, the two at Hertford, and the second at Nottingham, all point to river warfare. They forcibly remind us of the two earlier works of Alfred on the river Lea, of the fortified bridge-heads of Charles the Bald, and of the two later (?) mound fortresses of the Conqueror at York.

In some instances, they were designed to overawe or contain already existing Danish settlements, as at Bedford and Stamford.

In others, they defended outlying provinces, as at Bridgnorth and Bakewell. All this points to fortress building for the defence of districts or towns, rather than to the construction of urban *enceintes*.

It is true that Florence usually translates the *burh* of the Chronicle by the Latin *urbs*, but he also mentions six forts as having been constructed by Aethelfleda and Edward.<sup>1</sup>

That the Roman walls of certain cities were also renovated is likewise abundantly evident: as witness the cases of Chester, Towcester, Manchester, and probably Maldon (Florence—*urbem reædificavit*).

Bearing these points in mind, it will be seen that some of the fortresses erected in the great *burh*-building age might well have been of the citadel or moated mound type.

Evidence to this effect is forthcoming in the cases of Eddisbury, Bridgnorth, Bakewell, and Witham.

The case of Eddisbury has already been alluded to.

Panpudding Hill, at Bridgnorth, was identified by both Eyton and Clark as the fortress which Aethelfleda erected, 913. This identification was based upon a deed dated at Brugg, 1299, which describes an acre of land in the fields of Oldbury, as bounded on one side by the land of John of Oldbury, and on the other by the road

<sup>1</sup> Sceargete, *arx*. Bridgnorth, *arx*. Stafford, *arx*. Buckingham, *Munitiones*. Stamford, *arx*.

which leads to Oldbury under the *old castle*. This exactly locates the position of the Panpudding Hill, which is artificially scarped and terraced. The summit is further defended by a parapet, and it is separated from an adjoining but ill-defined platform by a deep fosse.

Further evidence not only confirms this view, but also points to the conclusion that this Hill was the site of the castle of Robert of Belesme.

Florence of Worcester<sup>1</sup> relates how Robert, Earl of Shrewsbury, began to repair and surround with a broad and lofty wall the fortress which Aethelfleda built at a place called Brycge, on the west bank of the river Severn; and that he hastened the completion of the walls and towers of the castles of Brycge and Caroclove, having the works carried on by day and by night.

Henry I sat down before Bridgnorth, and began to construct machines and erect a strong fort, "*castellum firmare coepit*."

In close proximity to Panpudding Hill, but separated from it by a ravine-like dip in the ground, is another earthwork of similar type. It is suggested that this is the *castellum* of Henry I.

That portion of the well-built Tower of Bridgnorth which stands on the rocky prominence in the immediate neighbourhood can scarcely be the remains of the hastily-built "towers and walls" of Belesme.<sup>2</sup>

The first notice of the Tower of Bridgnorth is in 1169, when £26 6s. 4d. were spent on the works.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Flor Wigorn., vol. ii, p. 49 :—"Arcem quam in occidentali Sabrinæ fluminis plaga, in loco qui Brycge dicitur lingua Saxonica, Aegelfleda Merciorum domina quondam construxerat, fratre suo Eadwardo Seniore regnante, Scrobbesbyriensis Comes Rotbertus de Belesmo, Rogeri Comititis filius, contra Regem Heinricum, ut exitus rei probavit, muro lato et alto, summoque restaurare coepit." P. 50 :—"Muros quoque ac turres castellorum videlicet Brycge et Caroclove, die noctuque laborando et operando, perficere modis omnibus festinavit."

<sup>2</sup> There is good reason to believe that Belesme had only lived one year in England prior to his submission to Henry I, 1102; see Eyton's "Antiquities of Shropshire," p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful whether there was a tower at Bridgnorth even in the year 1154. See the passage in Duchesne, p. 991, where the Chronicler expressly mentions the "Tower of Gloucester" and the Castles of Brug, Wigemore, and Deobens.

Florence's identification of the site of Aethelfleda's *arx* with that of the castle of Belesme was probably the result of local topographical knowledge, for he lived not more than thirty miles distant.

That Aethelfleda built a fort at Bridgnorth, and did not establish a town, is further proved by the fact that no mention of Brycg is made in *Domesday*.

The "motte" at Bakewell stands at one side of a more or less oblong enclosure; it is partly artificial, and has a cup-like depression on its summit. It is separated from the town of Bakewell by the river Wye. The church, with its pre-Norman cross and other Saxon remains, is nearly half a mile distant. It may therefore to this day be described, in the words of the Chronicle, an. 924, as being in the *neighbourhood of Bakewell*.

A reference to the Chronicle makes it clear that Edward did not entrench the town of Bakewell, but that he constructed and manned a fort in its vicinity. So, too, Florence of Worcester states that he placed some stout soldiers in it: "*Inde cum exercitu ab Beadecanweallan profectus, non longe ab ea urbem construxit, et in illa milites viribus robustos posuit*" (an. 921). In translating the *burh* of the Chronicle by the Latin *urbs*, Florence no doubt gave the word *burh* its contemporary meaning. The entry, however, distinctly points to the construction of a fort, in contradistinction to a town. No record of a Norman castle is forthcoming. The *burh* which Edward the Elder *worhte & getimbrede aet Witham* (Florence: *ædificaretur et ædificata firmaretur*) was evidently no ordinary town *enceinte*. Although much defaced, there are good grounds for regarding it as a citadel camp. Mr. I. C. Gould<sup>1</sup> states that the original fort seems to have consisted of a large enclosure of about 400 by 350 yards, with an inner ward or "keep" of 200 by 175 yards. The inner rampart rises from a base about 10 ft. above the surrounding enclosure.

Strutt<sup>2</sup> illustrates this central citadel or "keep," showing a low flat-topped mound, with parapet, fosse, and rampart. The central citadel must have occupied an area of nearly

<sup>1</sup> "Victoria County History of Essex," p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> "Manners, Customs," etc., p. 24. 1775.

five acres. Although of large dimensions, it is evident that the earthwork at Witham approximated more to the moated mound, or citadel type of fortification, than to that of a simple town enclosure.

As the result of this enquiry, the following conclusions may, I think, reasonably be formulated :—

(a) The moated mound type of fortress did not owe its origin to one nationality; witness its widespread distribution.

(b) It was common to many nations and periods; witness the throwing-up of mounds by Indian chieftains in the sixteenth century.

(c) Whilst, so far as the British Isles are concerned, the case for Norman origin and occupation may be regarded as definitely proved, there are good grounds for concluding that some examples are of much earlier date.

(d) The archæological evidence, as revealed by excavation, points to a very early date in the case of some "mottes." Therefore, whilst historical reference to castles of this type is of great value, it does not justify the conclusion that they were all constructed in contemporary and historic times.

I would therefore deprecate the somewhat hasty generalisations of modern antiquaries as tending prematurely to close an interesting inquiry.

Paradoxical as the statement may seem, I venture to predict that the fuller our knowledge of this subject becomes, the more complete will be the proof of Norman parentage, and the clearer will be the evidence of an earlier origin.





## THE ROMAN WALL PILGRIMAGE OF JUNE, 1906.

By R. OLIVER HESLOP, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., HONORARY CORRESPONDENT,

(Read November 21st, 1906.)



“PILGRIMAGE,” in which some three-score wayfarers take part, may not be productive of fresh light upon the Roman Wall, and the conflicting views advanced respecting the lines of Wall and Vallum from Tyne to Solway; but the expedition that took place under the joint organization of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society and the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries has served at least to bring prominently forward to a large and interested company the number and complexity of the problems in these lines yet unsolved.

Beginning on Saturday afternoon, June 23rd, the section from Wallsend-on-Tyne was covered. On Monday, the 25th, the party, reinforced to the number of over sixty members, set out westward from Newcastle, and continued the “pilgrimage” day by day, until they arrived at Bowness on Solway on the Saturday following, completing the entire length of the Great Wall of 72½ miles in seven days.

At Wallsend (*Segedunum*) Mr. W. S. Corder was conductor, and the proceedings began on the spot, marked by a bronze tablet in the shipyard of Messrs. Swan, Hunter, and Wigham Richardson & Co., Limited, where the tail-end of the wall had been continued from the south-east corner of the stationary camp to low-water mark in the river Tyne. From Newcastle (*Pons Aelii*) the works as far westward as Benwell (*Condercum*) are

almost obliterated by modern building operations, but a few traces of the fosse yet remain. At Benwell, in the grounds of Condercum House, the foundation courses of a *sacellum* were eagerly scanned. In the nooks of its shouldered apse two altars were found standing *in situ* in 1884; and these, dedicated respectively to *Antenociticus* and to *Anociticus*—apparently extended and abbreviated forms of one and the same deity—had been examined by the “pilgrims” at the Black Gate Museum in Newcastle, where they are now deposited.<sup>1</sup>

From this point onward, the works attracted continual attention, unfolding a succession of traces, now of fosse and wall, anon of vallum and aggers, with every mile of progress. Here the party was joined by Dr. Hodgkin, one of the Vice-Presidents of the British Archæological Association, whose explanations and directions added vastly to the interest of the journey. Carriages, to be resorted to as required, attended the course onwards, so that over twenty miles were covered in the day, ending at the abutment of the Roman bridge across the North Tyne at Chollerford. In this section of the route, the stationary camps passed, after *Condercum*, were *Vindobala* and *Hunnum*, where little more than outlines of the ramparts remain. At Portgate, the Roman Watling Street, still in use as a main road north and south, was crossed, and at the first field lane to the west the site of a camp on the line of the vallum was examined. Attention was first directed to this camp by Dr. Neilson in 1891,<sup>2</sup> who noted that it was neither marked in Horsley’s nor Dr. Bruce’s maps of the wall; and even in MacLauchlan’s *Survey* it was not defined as a camp. Its peculiarity lies in the fact that the south agger of the vallum forms the north wall of the camp. Dr. Neilson

<sup>1</sup> See “*Lapidarium Septentrionale*,” 20 and 21; Hübner, “*Inscr. Brit. Lat.*,” 503 and 504. The subject of the “strange gods” adopted by the Romans in the North of England alone is of great interest. With few exceptions, they are strictly local, and the name of the deity here mentioned has not been found elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> “*Per Lineam Valli: a New Argument Touching the Earthen Rampart Between Tyne and Solway*,” by George Neilson. Glasgow, 1891.

himself, who was one of the "pilgrims," guided a party to the spot, and pointed out the remarkable situation of this defensive work.<sup>1</sup>

At St. Oswald's, just before the descent is made from the uplands into the valley of the North Tyne, attention was divided between the Roman conquest and the early history of English Northumbria; for here was the reputed site of the battle of Heavenfield, described by Beda.<sup>2</sup> The spot was pointed out, in a field between the church and the present "military road,"<sup>3</sup> where, until a few years ago, there stood a Roman altar. Its focus had been cut through with a recess to form a footstep for a cross-shaft, and here it had stood for ages, probably as a commemorative landmark of the place where the rood had been set up by King Oswald himself, and where—

" With his own strong arms  
Did Oswald hold it, till the pit was filled  
With earth pressed firm by stamp of willing feet;  
And the great Cross stood on the Hill of Heaven,  
Steadfast and upright."

The shaft of the cross had gone long ago, but its base remained standing in the middle of the pasture field, until it was dug out and the site ploughed over. The altar itself, doing service as a Christian symbol, is not, perhaps, without significance. Such a triumph of the Cross over a pagan object of veneration existed in the ancient market cross of Corbridge, the shaft of which was similarly socketed in the focus of a Roman altar.

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it has been suggested that this is not a Roman work, but the hedge-dyke of a small croft or field enclosure, made when the surrounding land was open common, and incorporated in the field when the common was divided. No other instance has been found of a camp abutting on the south agger of the vallum.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. Eccl.," iii, ch. i, ii.

<sup>3</sup> The present main road between Newcastle and Carlisle, much of which is actually on the site of the wall, was constructed by General Wade shortly after the Rebellion of 1745, in consequence of his artillery having stuck axle-deep in the mud as he was attempting to cross the country from Newcastle, and intercept the advance of the Young Pretender. Unfortunately, he destroyed a large part of the then existing remains, so that archaeologists have little cause to "hold up their hands and bless General Wade." This road is still known locally as "the military."



On the third day of the "pilgrimage," the Museum at Walwick Chesters (*Cilurnum*), arranged by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, was described by Dr. Hodgkin, and an examination of the extensive camp under his guidance followed. Heavy rain here disturbed the proceedings, so that on resuming the order of march, the head of Limestone Bank was gained under conditions of great discomfort. The basaltic blocks—left by the excavators of both ditches in course of their removal—had to be hurriedly viewed, and here the hope of a passing summer shower was quite abandoned. Only the most enthusiastic followers shared with Mr. J. P. Gibson, Dr. Macgrath, and Dr. Hodgkin the exploration of the camp at Housesteads (*Borcovicus*) and the adjacent line of wall. Those who persevered in spite of the storm were, however, amply rewarded in listening to Mr. Gibson's detailed account of the walls, gates, buildings, and arrangements here unearthed. The collection and utilisation of the rainfall, the extensive tanks and latrines at the south-east angle, the various blocks of buildings and lines of thoroughfare, and the relation of the walls of the camp to the line of the wall, were all examined in turn. It was seen that the major axis of the camp ran east and west, and that its *via principalis* had its course from the south gateway to the north gateway. This main street was joined at right angles in its centre by the street leading from the eastern gateway, and opposite to the point of junction stood the headquarters building of the camp. Corresponding buildings in other camps have been styled *forum*, more frequently *prætorium*, recently *principia*. But whatever the term originally used in these frontier garrisons held by auxiliaries, the block of buildings occupying this central position in the camp consisted of quarters used for administrative purposes, and in this respect resembled the *prætorium* of the typical Roman camp. Its front was opposite to and looked towards the street leading to the prætorian gate. This is the gate on the enemy's face, and at Housesteads the prætorian is the eastern one. Mr. Gibson, therefore, maintained that *Borcovicus* was planned during an advance of the Roman forces from west to east; and he

further urged that the same conditions were observable at Aesica.<sup>1</sup> Here, as at Cilurnum and Aesica, evidences of successful siege and destruction, and of hasty repairs on repossession, are observable. At Aesica, especially, Mr. Gibson identified three periods of Roman possession ; namely, a first occupation, a reconquest, when *débris* from ruined buildings had been roughly levelled, time or resources not allowing its removal, the great double gateways being half walled up, so that a single aperture had to serve, with new footsteps for the gate pivots on a new and higher level rudely fitted for the purpose, and all betokening haste or incapacity, as compared with the solid and workmanlike finish of the early period. Lastly came a reoccupation, when some of the gateways were entirely built up : an indication telling its own tale.

The fourth day was an arduous one, as the long, saw-like stretch of crags from Hotbank to Greenhead must be done on foot. The Nine Nicks of Thirlwall formed the second portion of the day's work, after an ascent to 1,230 ft. at Winshields, and minor ascents and descents upon the ridge between. Fortunately, the weather had become bright once more. Passing Cawfields mile-castle,

<sup>1</sup> A question to be considered is, how far the arrangements of the typical Roman camp, originally devised for a field force, were adhered to in the case of these fortresses ; and whether, in the laying out of such stationary camps, some account was not taken of the lie of the ground. At Borcovicus, the configuration of the site makes it necessary that the major axis should run east and west, and the economical arrangement of the interior space would make the present position of the *prætorium* desirable. In any case, the fact that the prætorian gate is on the east does not necessarily imply that the enemy lay to the east also. In front of the north gate the ground falls in an almost precipitous slope. From the eastern gate the declivity slopes more easily into the valley of the Knag Burn, in the middle of which the Great Wall is pierced by a gateway. If Borcovicus was ever an isolated fortress, prior to the building of the wall, this eastern side would be most liable to attack by an enemy coming from the north ; and after the building of the wall, in case of a threatened attack from the same quarter, a Roman commander would probably deliver his counter-attack (the wall being a base for offensive operations as much as a means of defence) by way of the eastern gate of the fortress and the gate through the wall in the Knag Burn Valley. The eastern gate would thus be substantially, though not directly, " towards the enemy's face."

the turret on the crag to the west of it, and between the mile-castle and Aesica, recently laid bare by Mr. Percival Ross, of Bradford, was an object of note. Mr. Ross advances the suggestion that the irregular manner in which these watch-turrets appear to have been scattered along the length of the wall may be explained by supposing that on either side of each mile-castle a turret was built for look-out and signalling. Their distances apart would thus depend upon the suitability of sites for these purposes. Whether this conjecture can be maintained or not, the example at Cawfields suggests a presumption in its favour.<sup>1</sup>

Just to the south of the Cawfields mile-castle and turret, there is a large camp occupying the angle between the present military road and the lane and field road going north from it, and between this lane and Haltwhistle Burn. This great camp appears to have remained untouched by the explorer's spade. Like Chesterholm (*Vindolana*), its position is on the Stanegate, the Roman road that has been compared to the string of a bow; for whilst the line of the wall sweeps round on the north as an arc, somewhat in the form of a bow, the Stanegate passes straight from one extremity, resting upon the North Tyne, to the station of Aesica, and the camp is near the point where road and rampart draw together on the west.

Returning to the turret on the line of the wall, the "pilgrims" saw with regret that quarrying operations adjacent to Haltwhistle Burn had involved the ruin of the wall at this point, and that for many yards its site had been effaced.

<sup>1</sup> There is much to be said for Mr. Ross's suggestion, at least so far as the central or Whin Sill section of the wall is concerned. Where the country was less hilly, the turrets may have been regularly placed, and along the line of crags there may have been more than one turret between each pair of mile-castles, if more than one was necessary to maintain the chain of communication. Speaking generally, the line of the wall, especially in the central part, is admirably adapted for signalling, and we learn from Vegetius that the Romans had a system of transmitting news by semaphore. *Aliquantum in castellorum aut urbium turribus adpendunt trabes, quibus aliquando erectis aliquando depositatis indicant quae geruntur.* Vegetius, "Epitoma Rei Militaris," III, v.





AESICA : WEST GATE.

At the approach to Great Chesters (*Aesica*), the site of a suburban building, with its hypocaust yet visible, was seen. Entering the south gateway, the guard-room on its west side was inspected with especial interest, for within it was found, in 1897, an incrustated mass of metallic objects. This was disentangled after some months of patient toil, by the late Mr. C. J. Spence and Mr. John Gibson, and is now in the Black Gate Museum at Newcastle. The agglomeration caused by the oxidation of the metals resolved itself under their treatment into a necklace and locket with stone, a gold-plated fibula decorated with a design of Celtic character, a very large silver fibula, measuring about 9 ins. in height, and three rings, one of them engraved with a figure of the Gnostic god Abraxas. These objects had been hastily bundled together by their owners and undergone fire, for a piece of carbonised string showed that they had been tied up for portability or for purposes of concealment. They formed part of the *débris* accumulated on the floor of the guard-room, apparently wrecked by a conflagration.

The excavations here, in 1897 and two previous years, were latterly carried out by Mr. J. P. Gibson, who described the places unearthed. These were chiefly foundation courses of buildings, an arched chamber in the centre of the enclosure, the western angle towers, a building with calcined stones suggesting the site of a forge, and another in which carbonised corn appeared to indicate a granary. But attention was chiefly directed to the western gateway. This was originally of the usual type. Two pairs of entrance-gates on either side of the arched entrances had swung on pivots, and given entrance and exit by two passage-ways. Later, a catastrophe had caused the ruin of the gateway, and had been followed by repair. In a reconstruction, one of the archways had been built up, leaving only a single gateway in place of the original double one. But the repairers had done their work in a rough-and-ready manner, for they had not taken the trouble to clear out the wreckage. They had levelled the rubbish, and inserted one new pair of gates upon its surface. This was apparent, for as the old pivot-holes were buried, new ones had been inserted

at the higher level, standing some 2 ft. higher than the earlier roadway. Nor was this all that was revealed by the excavator's spade: for it was seen that a time had come when it was no longer possible to retain even a single gateway, and so the entire aperture had been walled up. Each succeeding occupation, thus indicated, showed deterioration of workmanship, the final closing of the gate being effected by walling of the rudest character, as compared with the excellent and solid construction of the original building.

Westward to Carvoran (*Magna*) the wall follows the edge of the crags, rising and falling with their serrated outline, but all along as a mere heap of stones, the wreckage wrought by the storms of centuries. At Mucklebank, a turret marks a right-angled turn in the line, where a steep defile is encountered. Looking down, one may see the house and steading of Walltown, in 1533 the home of John Ridley, brother of the martyred Bishop Ridley. Beyond are the last crags of the range, appropriately named the Nine Nicks. Looking southwards, it was seen that the vallum had made a somewhat wide circuit, apparently to avoid what had formerly been a morass. On the last of the Nicks, quarrying operations on a large scale have been worked into the face of the basaltic crags, bringing down, as at Cawfields, a considerable length of the wall. With this, a fine turret, once crowning the summit, has entirely perished.

The stationary camp at *Magna* was seen to possess peculiarities. A branch road from the Maiden Way led past its eastern side. The station itself is a little to the south of the wall, and between these two works the vallum has intervened. Here, the "pilgrims" followed the wall line down the steep descent to Thirlwall Castle, a mediæval hold built entirely with Roman stones obtained from the adjacent wall. It has, in turn, been used as a quarry, and many of its facing stones have been stripped and built up in farm and cottage houses hereabouts. At Gilsland, a considerable length of the wall has been laid bare in the Vicarage garden. Here, the wall-footings are projected unusually far from the line of the face, the object being to increase the area of the base

in order to carry the weight of the wall over what had been a marsh. The Vicarage itself adjoins a mile-castle, but the wall, as far as the River Irthing, has been almost entirely carried away for its building material. The fosse, however, is in remarkably fine condition in the field to the west, its full width and depth being apparent.

The fourth day had been one of perfect weather, and at its close meetings of both Societies were held at Orchard House, Gilsland, the quarters for the night. Here, too, Mr. T. Hesketh Hodgson, F.S.A., and Mrs. Hodgson gave the results of their excavations along the Roman Wall in Cumberland, from 1894 to 1906. The small burn called Poltross divides Northumberland from Cumberland at Gilsland, and on the threshold of the latter county Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson, with the Rev. Canon Bower, conducted the "pilgrims" for the remainder of their journey.

Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*) was the rendezvous for the fifth day's journey. It is the largest of the stationary camps, its walled area enclosing five and a-half acres. Like Walwick Chesters (*Cilurnum*), it possessed six gateways, one on the north and south faces, and two on its west, and two on its eastern fronts. Its site is on a high bank of alluvium, rising above the River Irthing, and deeply cut into by the erosive action of the stream in flood time. It is probably owing to this circumstance that the Roman engineers deviated from the plan hitherto pursued, and set the wall further north, so that their line of defence might be quite clear of landslips, and that adequate space for their movements might be secured between the wall and the shifting river-bank in their rear. A little to the west of Amboglanna their procedure becomes manifest. The wall and its fosse are in the line of the present highway. In the field to the south there is another and supernumerary fosse, with a mound on its southern side, and beyond it is the vallum with its aggers. The supernumerary line of defence has long baffled explanation. It appears only at this place, and after a short course it disappears at about a mile and a-half west of Amboglanna, where it unites with the line of the wall. Thenceforward, as on the east, the Roman works consist of the wall and



its fosse, accompanied by the aggers and ditch of the vallum to the south.

At Appletree the "pilgrims" were most fortunate, for an excellent and fresh cutting through the supernumerary mound was made. It disclosed a section similar to that which the late Mr. C. J. Bates and others had pronounced to be almost identical with the sections through the Antonine Wall between Forth and Clyde. Layers of carbonaceous matter are sandwiched between the sandy and clayey material of which the mound is composed, and the black streaks of organic matter overlie each other in the manner that would be produced by the decomposition of a regularly-built facing-wall of turf. The character of the work, however, is only visible in a newly-made cutting, and as it is not practicable at all times to open out a fresh section, most people have had to be content to accept the fact on the testimony of others. Hence, with an examination confined to a privileged few, many had remained sceptical. On this occasion the demonstration was made in the presence of some who were intimate with, and had given close attention to, the turf wall of Antoninus in Scotland. Of these, Dr. Neilson, Procurator-fiscal of Glasgow, who was present with the "pilgrims," and who had hitherto remained sceptical, declared the evidence before them to be complete and convincing. The difference observable in the Antonine Wall was in its being laid upon a stone bedding; whereas in the section at Appletree the turf wall appeared to rest on the ground. In other respects the work here was identical with the work in Scotland. Here, then, was the undoubted fact of the existence of a length of turf wall lying between the *muris* and the vallum. At Amboglanna, Mrs. Hodgson had described the results obtained by cross-cuttings made by Mr. T. H. Hodgson, when they found the turf wall ditch under the northern pier of the northernmost of the two gateways in the east wall of that fort. This was traced within the fort in two trenches cut through it, showing that the turf wall ditch had formed an earlier front than the present north wall of the fort, now in the line of the stone wall. The eastern junction of the turf wall ditch with

the stone wall ditch had been proved in the same manner, by actual spade-work, where the stone wall had been built over the earlier ditch of the turf wall. The latter had been most carefully filled up to receive the foundations of the stone wall, here exceptionally massive.

Dr. Haverfield, who has been associated throughout in these investigations, has announced a hypothesis that would appear to open an entirely new chapter in the history of the subject. It is that the stone wall occupies the site of an earlier wall of turf. This cespititious wall with its ditch would extend from sea to sea, but would, at a later time, be replaced by a wall of stone, having the original ditch on its north front. If the cespititious, or turf, wall were ascribed to Hadrian, the *muris* of stone might be the work of Severus.<sup>1</sup> But for the local conditions at Amboglanna, the site of the turf wall would there also have been occupied by the stone wall, and all vestiges of the original would then have disappeared, as they have in every other part of the line. Near Amboglanna, however, the necessities of the situation required

<sup>1</sup> The question of the relative dates of the two walls and the two halves of the fort is very puzzling. But for the testimony of historians, the beginning of the reign of Caracalla, when Caledonia was abandoned, might seem a probable date for the *muris*, and this would agree with the "Itinerary," if that work is of this date, the *limes* there given being practically the wall, with four advanced stations a few miles to the north of it. At any rate, the theory of a turf wall from sea to sea explains the use of the word *vallum* in certain cases where otherwise we should have expected *muris*: e.g. (1) In the "Itinerary: "A limite, id est a vallo." (2) On the Kirksteads altar (Lap. Sept., 508, Hübner, 940): "Ob res trans vallum prospere gestas." On the other hand, there is the passage of Spartian describing Severus's return from Caledonia: "Post murum aut vallum missum in Britannia, quum ad proximam mansionem rediret." Can this indicate that the replacement of the turf wall by the stone wall was then being carried out? Or is "aut vallum" a copyist's error for "apud Luguavallum," i.e., at Stanwix, the *proxima mansio* being Carlisle itself? Even if "aut vallum" here and the "id est a vallo" of the "Itinerary" be glosses, they show that the existence of the turf wall was familiar, and the stone wall a novelty requiring explanation. Another problem arises with regard to Amboglanna. Was the extension of the fort north of the line of the turf wall coincident with the building of the stone wall? Or was there an intermediate stage, when the arrangement of the place was similar to that existing at *Cilurnum*, where the northern half of the fort projects beyond the wall?

a deviation ; hence a new fosse had to be excavated in front of the new line set out for this length, and the stone wall was built along the south margin of this line, the section of turf wall and its ditch being allowed to remain as we now see them.<sup>1</sup>

The examinations and descriptions by Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson at these points may be regarded as the most interesting experience of the "pilgrimage."

Moving westward, a piece of the wall was examined at Hare Hill, where it stands about 10 ft. high, consisting of thirteen courses of facing-stones, which have been replaced there by the Earl of Carlisle. The day concluded with visits to Lanercost Priory and Naworth Castle.

The route of the "pilgrimage" on the sixth day passed through highly-cultivated tracts, where the remains of wall and vallum have been greatly effaced, their line requiring close attention. Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson were again called upon to act as guides, and pointed out every observable feature. The vallum, which disappears on the surface a little to the west of Wall Dub until the neighbourhood of Newtown of Irthington is reached, had been traced by trenches at frequent intervals for the whole distance. The wall between King Water and Walton, also ploughed out, had been traced in a similar manner. These investigations with the spade had been continued right through to the western sea, rectifying in some cases the conjectural line given on the Ordnance

<sup>1</sup> Probably landslips had occurred, subsequent to the building of the turf wall, on the north bank of the dene of the Irthing, which at this point is close to the south-west corner of the fort. The space immediately in front of the remaining section of the turf wall is, for the most part, a flat meadow, which in Roman times must have been a marsh. In deviating from the line of the turf wall, in order to get more room between the *muris* and the dene of the Irthing, the Roman engineers had no choice but to keep to the north of this marsh, which determines the line actually taken. Maclauchlan's "Survey" marks the remains of a mile-castle about half a mile to the west of Amboglanna, on that part of the stone wall which is north of the site of the turf wall. Exploration on 'the 'south' side of 'the 'turf wall at the corresponding point might be interesting, 'to' test whether the turf 'wall had mile-castles ; and if so, whether they were cespitious or of stone.

Map, and in every instance confirming the desirability of the adoption of this method of verification.

Castlesteads, with its mansion built within the site of the Roman station, proved a great attraction. The collection of objects found on the spot is of unusual interest. Old Wall, Bleatarn, and Drawdykes Castle successively occupied attention, and Stanwix was then reached. Crossing the Eden to Carlisle, the Roman collection at Tullie House claimed examination during the afternoon, and in the evening the united Societies dined together under the presidency of the Right Rev. the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness.

The seventh and last day was devoted to the journey from Carlisle, by Kirkandrews, Burgh-upon-Sands and Drumburgh, to Bowness-on-Solway, the western terminus of the wall and its fosse; and thence the party returned to Carlisle to disperse severally.





## Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21ST, 1906.

C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected .—

Signor J. Berardi, Buenos Ayres.

R. W. Crowther, Esq., F.R.G.S., Dunwood House, Church Street,  
Stoke Newington.

J. A. H. Green, Esq., Hartland, The Park, Nottingham.

Harry Hill, Esq., 22, The Ropewalk, Nottingham.

J. H. Johnston, Esq., M.D., 28, Forest Road, Nottingham.

S. W. Oscroft, Esq., 27, Chaucer Street, Nottingham.

M. J. Preston, Esq., 48, The Ropewalk, Nottingham.

J. F. Spaulding, Esq., Villa Road, Nottingham.

Miss E. M. Thomson, Pioneer Club, 5, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W.

John Thorpe, Esq., Brantwood, Harlaxton Drive, Nottingham.

J. R. Topham, Esq., Newcastle Drive, The Park, Nottingham.

F. A. Wadsworth, Esq., 15, Weekday Cross, Nottingham.

James Ward, Esq., South Parade, Nottingham.

The Public Library, Melbourne, care of The Agent-General for  
Victoria, 142, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

The Worcester Free Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., care of Messrs.  
Kegan Paul and Co., 43, Gerrard Street, W.

Mr. R. H. Forster exhibited numerous photographs of the excavations recently conducted at Corstopitum, illustrating various points referred to in the Note on p. 202 of the present volume. Mr. T. S. Bush exhibited some fragments of earthenware from the neighbourhood of Bath, which were pronounced to be English ware of the fourteenth century, or possibly later. A collection of Neolithic flint implements, chiefly from Sussex, gathered during the summer, was exhibited by

Mr. J. G. N. Clift. The chief items were a series of nine scrapers neatly chipped to a semicircular cutting edge; a small knife, the cutting edge of which had every appearance of grinding; an adze-shaped implement from Cissbury, and two or three partly-worked spear- and arrow-heads, one example being interesting, as there was no apparent reason for its being discarded.

Mr. R. H. Forster then read a Paper by Mr. R. Oliver Heslop, M.A., F.S.A., Honorary Correspondent of the Association, on "The Roman Wall Pilgrimage of 1906," which is printed at p. 269. To illustrate the paper, Mr. Forster showed a large series of photographs of the remains of the Wall, and particularly of the stations of Cilurnum, Borcovicus, Aesica, and Amboglanna.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12TH, 1906.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. E. G. Tooker read a paper on "Waltham Abbey: its Architecture and Early History," which was illustrated by a fine series of lantern-slides, showing views not only of Waltham and the details of its architecture, but also of similar work at Durham, Lindisfarne, and Dunfermline. Mr. Tooker combatted the view of the late Professor Freeman, that in the existing structure at Waltham we have the nave of Harold's church, and supported the theory which ascribes the present building to Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore and wife of Henry I, to whom Waltham was granted by her husband.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Clift was inclined to put the date of the building as late as about 1120, but Mr. Tooker argued in favour of an earlier date. Mr. Forster referred to the connection between Waltham and Durham, especially through Prior Turgot, who was a friend of St. Margaret, Matilda's mother, and probably of Matilda herself. In 1107 he became Bishop of St. Andrews, and the resemblance of Dunfermline to Durham and Waltham may be due to his influence.





## Archaeological Notes.

### EXCAVATIONS AT HOLM CULTRAM ABBEY, CUMBERLAND.

ON p. 139 of the present Volume there appears a note by the Rev. W. Baxter, M.A., Rector of Holm Cultram, on discoveries recently made in connection with the Abbey. Mr. Baxter has been kind enough to send us the following further information.

It will be remembered that excavations at Holm Cultram Abbey in February last, eastward of the existing church, revealed a doorway of Early English design, a portion of the old northern wall, and adjoining it immediately west of the doorway a large foundation stone, on which evidently a base of the tower rested. It was conjectured that the doorway led into the Chapter-house, though local tradition was against the theory, and that the base represented the extreme north-eastern end of the tower. On these suppositions nave, crossing, and transepts were thrown back west of a line drawn transversely from this base. Further excavations in October have, however, disposed of this theory, and have clearly established the position of the tower absolutely as an integral part of the building; while its position relatively to nave and transept on the one side, and the eastern limb of the church on the other, has been determined with a certain degree of exactitude.

Immediately east of the doorway the true north-eastern base of the tower has been unearthed at a point 11 ft. 3 in. from the previous base, and in exact line with it. Fortunately, enough masonry remains to convey a fairly accurate impression of the strength of the original bases, which would presumably be built after one design, with close correspondence as regards size, thickness, and supporting pillars, though rigid uniformity might not be preserved in details of moulding and ornamentation. The length of the discovered base is 13 ft. 6 in., and the breadth, including thickness of wall, would be approximately 9 ft. The foundation course is a large stone slab, and its projecting edges form a step, of which more anon. The blocks above it, sloping gently upwards, are carefully moulded at the edges, and are firmly bound with mortar and chippings of oyster-shell. Some shells were found imbedded in their entirety in the mortar. This curious circumstance, carrying us back to thirteenth-century times, gives rise to

interesting conjectures as to the possibility of the existence of oyster-beds at some easily-accessible point on the western coast; and it draws our attention to an article of diet which had its place, possibly on high occasions, in the monastic bill of fare.

In conjunction with the pier resting on this base, there have been three—if not more—engaged shafts. Two broken contiguous shafts are still standing on the pier-base; and at a distance from them, in singular isolation at a point higher up in the base, is the base of another. So much for the structure. As regards measurements, the distance between the north-eastern and north-western bases is 11 ft. 3 in., as already indicated, and so the extreme length of the space covered by the tower, reckoning each base at 13 ft. 9 in., will be approximately 38 ft. We know from ancient sources that the tower was 38 ft. in width, so that it appears to have been square at its foundation. Midway between the bases is the doorway previously discovered, set in a wall built across what must be regarded as the southern opening of the north transept.

On the analogy of other Cistercian buildings, we may expect the ritual choir to have been to the west of a line drawn transversely from this doorway; but where the monastic portion of the church terminated westward, and how many bays of the western limb would have to be included, can only be conjectured from the size of the whole building and on architectural grounds. It has been thought that the fifth column from the west end of the nave marks the point, as it differs in plan from the others.<sup>1</sup> At Furness Abbey, which, like Holm Cultram, had a nave of nine bays, the division was at the sixth pier from the west.

We have documentary evidence in support of the contention that the ritual choir occupied part of the crossing, and extended west of it. In the old Parish Register (1580 to 1597) Edward Mandeville, the Vicar, states that in 1590, "In the xiiij day of May there fell out of the foit of the steeple vaulte, over above the poulepoit, thre great stons w<sup>h</sup> braste the stalle where I use to sitt, and some part of Chambers stall and a ledge of the communion table." There is also the evidence of a document, *circa* 1600, quoted in a previous note, that "the steeple, being nineteen fathoms, stood upon the chancel."

Five feet east of the centre line of the crossing, and 186 ft. from the western doorway, is the step above referred to. Can this step be the entrance to the presbytery or sacrarium? Such an arrangement was usual in unaltered Cistercian churches, and is found at Kirkstall and

<sup>1</sup> "Some Records of a Cistercian Abbey," by the Rev. G. E. Gillbanks, M.A. p. 34.



Furness. At both these places the eastern limb is short—in each case the internal length is about double the internal width—and without aisles; and the same may have been the original plan here. There is, however, one difficulty in the way—the probable size of the eastern limb. Starting from this step, we must remember that, according to Purdy's measurement of the old Abbey, there are 93 ft. still needed to complete the building—considerably more than is necessary to make an eastern limb of the proportions we find at Kirkstall and Furness. The total length of the Abbey is stated to have been 279 ft., and the step, as has been shown, is 186 ft. from the western doorway. The northern wall also, as further excavations have proved, still continues some 80 ft. from the step to a point close to the churchyard hedge; and there is reason to think, judging by the raised appearance of the surface in the adjoining field, that Purdy's computation is correct. The Abbey, as a whole, was noted for its great length, and possibly the eastern limb did not conform to the usual Cistercian type. It is hoped, however, that the further excavations which are to be made will lead to absolute certainty, and to the production of a ground-plan of the building from western doorway to high altar.

#### THE ROMAN MILITARY STATION AT NEWSTEAD, NEAR MELROSE.

THE excavations undertaken by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland have been carried on with great success during the past year. The work done in 1905, in exploring the fortifications, produced indications of the existence of a wall, and this year a well-preserved fragment of the actual wall has been found, showing a scarcement course of sandstone blocks, lying on a heavy foundation of cobbles, and having above it at least two courses of well-built squared masonry, 7 ft. 6 in. in thickness. In clearing the ditch of the early fort on the south, coins of Domitian and Vespasian were found in the black deposit at the bottom; with fragments of pottery and glass of such a character as leaves little doubt that the early fort is to be connected with the invasion of Agricola.

Within the fort, the area east of the *Via Principalis* was investigated, and a series of lines of buildings discovered, which were probably the barracks of the troops. Each block appears to have been divided into eleven small huts, separated from each other by a narrow intervening space, the huts averaging 15 ft. wide by 30 ft. deep. The most important "find" in this area was a fine bronze vessel, 11 in. high, shaped somewhat like a modern ewer, with an elaborate handle. It is of a type well known in Pompeii, and probably belongs to the first century A.D. It dates from the early period of the occupation of New-

stead, the division wall of one of the barrack huts having been built over the pit in which it lay.

The earth has been removed from the greater part of the *Praetorium*, and the buildings north and south of it investigated. To the south of the *Praetorium* lies a buttressed storehouse of the usual type, and to the south of this is a large square courtyard house, believed to be the commandant's quarters. North of the *Praetorium* is a second buttressed storehouse, with traces of a large building beyond, now almost obliterated. Here a well, 19 ft. in depth, was discovered, in which were found a complete Andernach quern, an almost perfect *mortarium*, and a copper kettle.

The clearing out of the *Praetorium* produced evidence that it had been used during at least two distinct periods. In the earlier period the building followed the normal type. Next to the *Via Principalis* was the outer courtyard, surrounded by an ambulatory. Further from the entrance was an inner court, on the west side of which were the usual five chambers. At a later time a vault or strong-room was constructed beneath the floor of the central chamber or *Sacellum*, and the level of the court was raised. The line of pillars on the south side of the outer court was thrown forward, and there was placed in front of the whole building a large hall, covering the *Via Principalis*, and extending as far as the corners of the buttressed buildings on the north and south. This last feature has not hitherto been met with in Britain, but it occurs in several forts on the German *Limes*. Of the coins found in this part, the earliest is a legionary *denarius* of Mark Antony, the latest a coin of Marcus Aurelius, and a large proportion belongs to the reign of Vespasian. To the west of the *Praetorium* is a large square building, lying in the angle between the *Via Quintana* and the road leading to the west gate. North of this lies a still unexplored section, probably occupied by barracks.

Towards the close of 1905, in endeavouring to ascertain the line of the roads issuing from the fort on the south, the workmen came on a pit of no great depth, which contained a large decorated Samian bowl, fragments of a large square blue-glass bottle, and some burnt bones. This year the space between this and the railway-cutting (where many pits were found in 1840) has been examined, and fourteen pits or wells have been discovered, varying in depth from 10 ft. to 30 ft. In the lower stratum of the deposit in these pits some objects of great interest were found in a wonderful state of preservation. These include an iron helmet, with visor attached, the headpiece embossed with locks of curling hair, and the visor in the form of a human face, like that of the well-known Ribchester helmet; a brass helmet, embossed with

figures in high relief; various pieces of bronze armour; two swords, 30½ in. and 30¼ in. long, and five spear-heads, of leaf-shaped pattern; a number of tools, including a saw, chisels, gouges, smith's tongs, hammers, axes, and scythes; a quantity of miscellaneous metal and wooden objects, including twenty-nine hub-rings of chariots, two chariot-wheels, 3 ft. in diameter, the felloes made of a single piece of ash rimmed with iron, and the hubs of elm bushed with iron, and an oak bucket with its iron handle and mountings; a certain amount of Samian and other ware; and two complete querns of Andernach stone, with their spindles and iron mountings.

It is hoped that further "finds" will be made, if funds are forthcoming. In the interior of the fort a small area on the north-west and the defences on the west side remain to be dealt with. To the west of the fort lies an annex, in which there is now being uncovered the site of a large well-built building, probably the baths. To the east, work now in progress has brought to light a large ditch running north and south, evidently defending another annex. To the north, there remain to be dealt with the defences of the fort and the approach to the Tweed, in connection with which it would be desirable to establish the site of the bridge crossing the river, the starting-point of the road that leads northward through Lauderdale and Inveresk, and onward to the forts of the Antonine Wall.

#### THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES COMMITTEE FOR YORKSHIRE.

A MEETING of this Committee was held at Leeds on December 8th, when the work done during the year was reported by Dr. Bodington. In addition to the visit to the Roman road on Blackstone Edge, which we have already noticed, a survey has been made of the Adel camp, and the Roman foundation at Middleham has been carefully cleared and planned; excavations have also been made in the neighbourhood, with the object of discovering if the building extended further; but, unfortunately, without any result; and enquiries have been made into the evidence of the existence of a Roman road up Wensleydale, traces of which have been found in front of Bolton Hall.

At the same meeting, Mr. J. J. Brigg read a paper on the Roman road which is supposed to have led from Manchester to Ilkley, dealing particularly with the remains which have been found on the moors in the neighbourhood of Halifax and Denholme. At one point on Harden Moor a stretch about eighty yards long still remains, but whether it forms a link in the main road, or is part of a branch road, has not yet been determined.

Mr. R. Carr Bosanquet gave an address on "Some Problems in the

History of Roman Britain." With regard to the Roman road over Blackstone Edge, he said that it seemed to him a much more solid piece of Roman engineering than one met with elsewhere in the provinces. The worn central channel indicated that heavy traffic had been conveyed down the incline, probably by means of pole-carts; and in view of the fact that two ingots of lead had been found on Hayshawe Moor near Pateley Bridge, it occurred to him that the Roman administration had constructed the road when sanguine about the possibilities of lead-mining in the Pennine Range. It seemed to him that an explanation of the great time the military camps were maintained in the district was, as in Derbyshire, that economic interests had to be guarded.

#### DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN PAVEMENT AT COLCHESTER.

IN the course of some excavations at the back of a house in North Hill, Colchester, a fine specimen of Roman pavement, worked in a highly decorative design, has been discovered. The colouring of the *tesserae* is red, orange, black and white; and the design shows a broad border of leaf-shaped ornaments enclosed in contiguous circles. The pavement probably extends for some distance under the adjoining premises but this portion has not yet been excavated.

#### EXPLORATIONS ON LANSDOWN, NEAR BATH.

WE are indebted to Mr. Thomas S. Bush for the following note:—In March, 1905, workmen, when cutting a trench in a field at the north end of Lansdown, unearthed five Roman coins, fragments of pottery, and bones. One of the men brought these to Mr. Gerald J. Grey, who showed them to me, and we at once visited the site. There is not anything in this field to attract attention, but in the next are low banks, forming very irregular inclosures, within which moles had thrown up bits of pottery. After talking matters over with the Rev. H. H. Winwood and Mr. A. Trice Martin, we decided to cut trenches through these banks and enclosures, to prove the ground, having obtained permission of the owner, the Rev. W. T. Blaythwayt, and the tenant, Mr. Banks.

This proving the ground was carried out in the following June, under the supervision of Mr. Grey and myself. The banks were made up of thin flat stones to within three inches of the surface. Within the inclosures the depth to rock was about 15 ins. The relics unearthed—bronze and iron articles, etc.—were considered of sufficient importance to warrant further research, and an Exploration Fund was

started. About a fortnight's work was carried out in September, and the same in May and September of this year. Many walls have been opened up. These, in nearly all cases, are about 9 ins. under the surface. With the exception of one building, 52 ft. by 25 ft., with a cross wall, all are irregular in plan, and vary in construction, no mortar or cement being used. There is no doubt that one builder has partially destroyed the work of a previous one. Owing to the ground being so shallow, there is generally only about 9 ins. in depth of wall standing. The floors appear to have been of pennant, a small portion of one remaining *in situ*. Several portions of well-worked pilasters have been met with, and (amongst a variety of relics) one silver British coin and 165 Roman coins, covering a period of about two and a-half centuries, several bronze fibulæ, spoons, armlets, and tweezers, iron fibula, styli, cleats, hobnails, and knife, fragments of Samian ware, and a quantity of various pottery, bone pins, quartzite rubbers, etc., and also three stone (oolite) coffins, hewn out of the solid. One contained a male skeleton (this with the coffin has been placed in the Museum of the Literary Institution, Bath), and the other two females. There were also three human skulls, with bones, lying alongside the first coffin, three further skulls with bones in a heap, and one other skull with bones in a heap. The two last mentioned were evidently a re-burial.

Of the two illustrations, one shows the cap of a pilaster, inverted, with a square hole at one end for the spigot. It is of local stone—oolite—as is also the stone with the bowl-shaped depression. Other similar stones were met with, one having a depression on both sides. Presumably these were used for grinding or pounding purposes. The other illustration is of a bronze brooch (exact size), inlaid with mosaics—a white foundation, the colours being red, blue, and yellow. Rising from the centre is a stud, half an inch high. A few of the mosaics are missing, and so is the pin; but the cheeks for it and the safety-catch are intact. The blocks from which these illustrations are printed belong jointly to—and have been kindly lent by—the Bath and District Branch of the Somersetshire Archæological Society and the Lansdown Exploration Fund.

It is hoped that funds will be forthcoming to enable the explorations to be continued in 1907.

#### THE INSPECTORSHIP OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

THE Congress of Archæological Societies, at the meeting held in July last, passed a resolution urging the Government to make an appointment for this office, in accordance with the Act. Referring to this



**BRONZE MOSAIC BROOCH.**  
*(From Photo. by Mr. Perrin.)*



**CAP OF PILASTER, AND STONE WITH DEPRESSION.**  
*(From Photo. by Mr. G. J. Grey.)*



resolution, *The Times* gave an interesting communication from a correspondent. From this we extract an important portion :—

“The office of inspector was created by the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882. That measure is often referred to as Lord Avebury’s Act, and in this connection it may be usefully noted that Lord Avebury was himself presiding over the Congress when the resolution was passed. Under the terms of that Act, the Commissioners of Works are empowered to become the guardians of certain scheduled monuments with the consent and approval of their several owners ; and provision was made for adding other monuments of a like nature to the list. The Act referred only to megalithic remains, but by a subsequent Act (1900) a much wider interpretation was given to the expression “ancient monument,” and the powers of the Commissioners were made to extend to “any structure, erection, or monument of historic or architectural interest, or any remains thereof,” of which they believe the preservation to be “a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, traditional, or artistic interest attaching thereto.” The Commissioners were also empowered to become the owners of such monuments, acquiring them by gift, bequest, or purchase.

Machinery was provided to enable the Commissioners adequately to carry out their duties as protectors of the monuments thus entrusted to their care ; and Clause 5 of the Act lays upon them the duty of appointing “one or more inspectors of ancient monuments, whose duty it shall be to report to the Commissioners on the condition of such monuments, and on the best mode of preserving the same,” and permits them to award ‘such remuneration and allowance for expenses out of moneys provided by Parliament as may be determined’ by the Commissioners of the Treasury. In accordance with the terms of this clause, the late General Pitt-Rivers was appointed Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and held that office until his death in 1900. . . .

It is now pretty generally known among those who are interested in these matters that the duties of inspector are, in fact though not in name, being carried out by a permanent official of high rank in the department ; and there is no reason to regard the present agitation as in any way an expression of censure upon him or his work. Indeed, antiquaries have much reason to be thankful to him for valuable aid in more than one case. But it is being asked, and may reasonably be asked, whether an ordinary Civil servant, a great deal of whose time and energies must be devoted to other sides of his departmental work, is the best man to occupy the position of inspector, or is the type of man contemplated by the framers of the Act. The occupation of the post by one who is outside the ordinary routine of the Office of Works would seem in many ways to be desirable. He would be able to devote more of his time to antiquarian study (an ordinary Civil servant cannot be expected to have devoted more than a limited leisure time to such things), and he would bring a greater amount of independent influence to bear upon the Commissioners. . . .

For some years past the Office of Works has shown itself fully alive to the importance of questions of this nature, and successive First Commissioners have displayed a keen sympathy with the objects which the Congress of Archæological Societies has in view. They have on occasions made public reference to the limited extent of their powers for securing adequate protection for places of historic interest. It may, perhaps, be respectfully urged that they might yet add to their accomplishments, if they would take note of the resolution of the Congress, and carry out to the full the powers which they already possess.”

Needless to say, we are thoroughly in accord with the views so ably expressed in *The Times*.



## THE WALLS OF BERWICK.

We regret to hear from the Rev. James King, M.A., B.D., Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick-on-Tweed, who has done so much good work in this connection, that the Town Council of Berwick have proposed to sell for building purposes another site on the Edwardian foundations, adjoining the section purchased by the nation, and are now only awaiting the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury—a sanction which is necessary for any proposed lease of ground on the ancient walls. There exists no adequate reason for further demolition, and the proposed erection would not only obscure the ancient work, but would also mar the beautiful view which is to be obtained from this part of Berwick. It is hoped that the Lords of the Treasury may be induced to withhold their sanction, and that means may be found to prevent this continual tampering with what ought to be a national treasure.



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